OUR UNION TO RESTORE:

MY ANCESTRAL SOLDIERS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Bart Benjamin

OUR UNION TO RESTORE:

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by

Bart Benjamin

Published privately by Bart Benjamin

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This book is dedicated to the two million volunteer soldiers of the Union Army, who willingly bore the burden of combat, disease, and deprivation to ensure that their nation might live.

Cover: This collage of images features digitally restored regimental flags of the 77th Illinois and 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantries, the emblem of the G.A.R., and the author's three ancestral soldiers for whom photos are known to exist.

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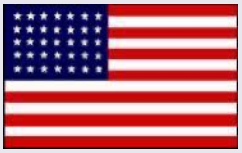

Preface

The seeds for my interest in the American Civil War were planted when I was a child, when my parents purchased a phonograph record titled *Meet Mr. Lincoln*, which I later learned was the soundtrack of an NBC television program that had aired on the sesquicentennial of Abraham's Lincoln birth. With a musical score by a Tony and Academy Award winning composer and stirring words spoken by Alexander Scourby's resonant voice, the album filled my young head with the story of Abraham Lincoln, his presidency, and the war that shaped our national character like no other event in its history.

Decades later, in September of 1990, I sat in my living room thoroughly spellbound for five nights by Ken Burns' highly acclaimed *The Civil War* series on PBS. My interest from long ago was suddenly rekindled! Soon thereafter, I learned from my uncle that I had several ancestors who fought for the Union Army, and I embarked on a research project to learn more about these men and their experiences during that great war between North and South.

I discovered that my ancestral soldiers were **Job Benjamin** of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, **Samuel Kirkman** of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, and **Wilson Benjamin** of the 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. By combining library research and military records obtained from the National Archives (via postal mail back then), I was able to trace their unit movements, combat experiences, injuries and illnesses, and any special assignments or absences. Their collective experiences cover many of the decisive western battles of that great war. Unfortunately, there were no surviving personal letters or diaries written by any of my Civil War ancestors. Therefore, I was unable to uncover any new historical information that would add to the collective understanding of that war. Fortunately, muster and pension records from the National Archives provided some specific detail about these men, both during the war and in their elder (i.e. pension) years that followed.

With no original sources of my own, I had no choice but to distill the fine works of others to deduce the experiences of my three ancestral soldiers. The experiences of Samuel Kirkman's regiment are largely excerpted from three primary sources written by members of that regiment — the 77th Illinois' regimental history, a book written in 1883 by William Bentley of Company I; *The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier,* Terrence Winschel's 2001 book that publishes the war diary of William Wiley of Company C; and the diary and journal entries of Daniel B. Allen, who was the principal musician for the regiment, which is archived at the Special Collections Center at Bradley University.

The experiences of Job Benjamin's regiment (76th Ohio V. I.) are largely excerpted from two primary sources — *Ohio in the War,* a 2,000 page, two-volume work written in 1893 by Ohio politician and newspaper editor Whitelaw Reid and *A Boy's Service with the 76th Ohio*, a memoir first written in 1908 by Charles A. Willison of Company I and re-published in 1995.

In the spring of 1992, I completed a printed, three-ring version of my initial work, which I titled *Three Soldiers of Valor*. I printed a small of number of copies and distributed a few of them to family members. Ten years later, I undertook a major revision of this work, incorporating the first-hand accounts of William Wiley, Daniel Allen, and Charles Willison. Although I finished a first draft of this second edition, I never completed it. My work then languished for years on my computer hard drive. Finally, in late 2019, I vowed to finish the work that I had started so many years before.

THIS 2020 EDITION: First, I decided to rename this work *Our Union to Restore,* which is borrowed from a lyrical line from the popular poem of the early war years — *We Are Coming, Father Abra'am* — which I've reprinted three pages ahead. I thought that my original title — *Three Soldiers of Valor* — overstated the heroism of my original three ancestral soldiers. As you will read, only one of these three men's Civil War experiences should be considered significant and meritorious.

Secondly, **I uncovered three additional ancestors of mine who fought in the Union Army!** This discovery came about from a suggestion by my uncle to research another relative of ours (**Daniel Slane**) whose genealogical records indicated that he also served in the 77th Illinois V. I. I soon learned that Daniel Slane's service in that regiment had been very brief, since authorities quickly discovered that he was 13 years older than the maximum age of enlistment! Nevertheless, Daniel Slane became my fourth ancestral soldier.

But my discoveries didn't stop there! When I researched the genealogy of the Slane family, I discovered that two additional men in Samuel Kirkman's Company K were related to Daniel Slane, and therefore related to me! They are brothers **Jacob** and **John LaFollette**; they became my fifth and sixth ancestral soldiers. To accommodate these new men, I've written a new section for my *1862* chapter and an all-new *1864 (Part III)* chapter that describes Jacob LaFollette's experience in a Confederate prison camp.

Thirdly, in creating *Our Union to Restore*, I added a significant number of visual elements to the text, including muster rolls and pension records from the National Archives; improved battlefield maps; state, county, and township maps; and additional figures and flourishes. I also added a number of new illustrations to Appendix A and expanded my Appendix B. Finally, I created an entirely new Appendix C to document the genealogy that connects me to my Civil War ancestors.

I would like to give special thanks to my uncle Roland Benjamin and aunt Maxine (Cadwell) Benjamin, whose tireless efforts at genealogical research over the past decades have provided our family with a greater appreciation of its place in history. In a sense, this research work is an extension of their original research paper, *A Genealogy of the Benjamin Family of Peoria County, Illinois*.

My hope is that this work also instills a greater appreciation for the selfless and valiant contributions made by over two million men who enlisted in the Union Army and fought for their country and its principles during the 1860s. Their collective service and sacrifice over a century and a half ago helped define what the United States of America is today.

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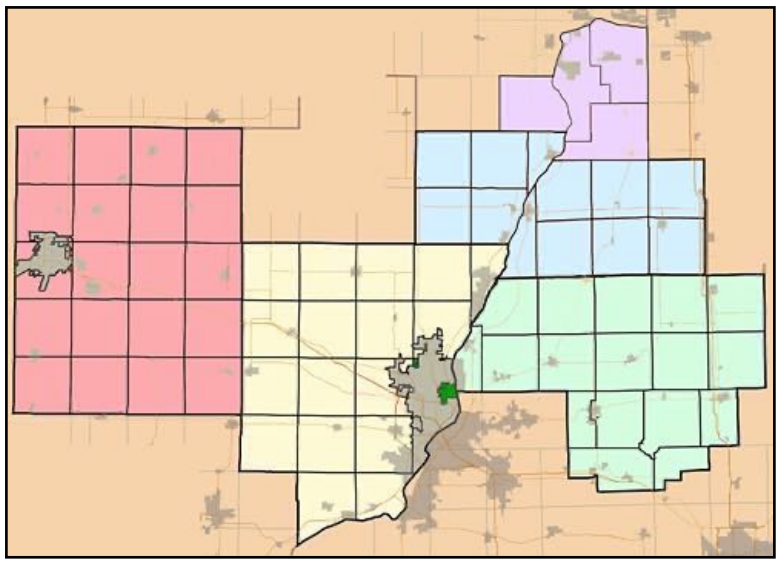
March, 2020



Above: The 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry drew most of its men from these five counties surrounding Peoria in central Illinois.

Left: The 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry drew most of its men from Licking County, Ohio, with the city of Newark its county seat.

Acknowledgements

2020 EDITION. I would like to acknowledge my Uncle Roland Benjamin for his kind assistance with this latest digital revision. With an editor's eye, he studied my work, found a number of mistakes that I'd overlooked, and provided me with many wording improvements and ways to eliminate excess words and phrases that greatly improved its overall readability.

2002 EDITION. I would like to acknowledge the following persons and organizations who assisted me in my first major revision of this work in 2002:

The **National Park Service** for their permission to use Edwin C. Bearss' Troop Movement Maps for the Battle of Arkansas Post. Special thanks to **Brian K. McCutchen**, Historian, Arkansas Post National Memorial.

Bruce Schulze, webmaster of Civil War Album.com, for finding the Battle of Mansfield Troop Deployment Map and for use of his battlefield photographs from Vicksburg and Sabine Crossroads (Mansfield).

The staff of the **Special Collections Center at Bradley University**, who are responsible for holding the archival materials for the Peoria Historical Society, including the diary and letters of Daniel B. Allen. In particular, thanks to **Charles Frey** and **Sherri Schneider** for their kindness and valuable assistance.

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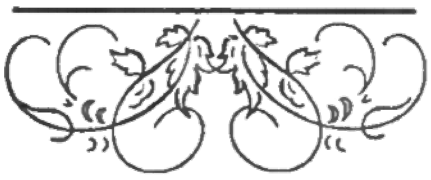
Terrence Winschel, Historian at the Vicksburg National Military Park and author of *The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier*, for his encouragement and assistance in uncovering details about the 77th Illinois' assault upon the Railroad Redoubt. His fine book is available from the LSU Press.

Stephen E. Williams and **Don D. Worth**, creators of the 48th Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry website, for providing supporting material for many of the military campaigns that were also fought by the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry.



We Are Coming, Father Abra'am

We Are Coming, Father Abra'am is a poem written by James S. Gibbons in response to a call by Abraham Lincoln on July 1, 1862 for volunteers to fight for the U.S. in the American Civil War. The poem was set to music by eight different composers, including Stephen Foster.

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more,
From Mississippi's winding stream and from New England's shore.
We leave our plows and workshops, our wives and children dear,
With hearts too full for utterance, with but a silent tear.
We dare not look behind us but steadfastly before.
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

We are coming, coming, our Union to restore,
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

If you look across the hilltops that meet the northern sky,
Long moving lines of rising dust your vision may descry;
And now the wind, an instant, tears the cloudy veil aside,
And floats aloft our spangled flag in glory and in pride;
And bayonets in the sunlight gleam, and bands brave music pour,
We are coming, father Abr'am, three hundred thousand more!

We are coming, coming, our Union to restore,
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

If you look up all our valleys where the growing harvests shine,
You may see our sturdy farmer boys fast forming into line;
And children from their mother's knees are pulling at the weeds,
And learning how to reap and sow against their country's needs;
And a farewell group stands weeping at every cottage door,
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

We are coming, coming, our Union to restore,
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

You have called us, and we're coming by Richmond's bloody tide,
To lay us down for freedom's sake, our brothers' bones beside;
Or from foul treason's savage grip, to wrench the murderous blade;
And in the face of foreign foes its fragments to parade.
Six hundred thousand loyal men and true have gone before,
We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more!

We are coming, coming, our Union to restore,
We are coming, Father Abra'am, three hundred thousand more!

1861

THE BENJAMIN — KIRKMAN GENEALOGY

Job Allen Benjamin was born in 1829 in Union Township of Licking County, Ohio, which is just south of Newark and approximately 30 miles east of Columbus.[1] (See Figure 1). He was the son of Christopher Benjamin (1803-1881) and his wife Elizabeth Jane Ingraham (1806-1856). Job had five brothers, William (b. 1827), David (b. 1838), Wilson (b. 1841), Isaac (b. 1842), and Abraham (b. 1846). He also had three younger sisters, Elizabeth (b. 1831), Margaret (b. 1836), and Grace (b. 1843).[2]

As an adult, Job stood approximately 5 feet 10½ inches tall and had dark hair, brown eyes, and a florid (i.e. red or flushed) complexion.[3] On October 10, 1849, at the age of 20, Job married Elizabeth Margaret Bowers (b. 1832)[4] Their first of eleven children, James Wilson, was born on November 5, 1851 in Ohio.[5]

In 1852, when Job was 23, the Benjamin family moved from Ohio to Peoria County, Illinois, where Christopher had purchased a farm east of the town of Laura and north of Brimfield in the area of Millbrook Township known as “Scotland Prairie.” [6] **(See Figure 2)**. Now living in Illinois, Job and his wife Elizabeth had two more children during the next three years — Margaret Jane (b. February 6, 1853) and William Lewis (b. December 26, 1855). However, sometime between then and the birth of Jacob C. on December 2, 1858 (in Ohio), Job moved his growing family back to McKean Township in Licking County, Ohio. In Ohio, Elizabeth gave birth to Jacob C., Elizabeth Ellen (Eliza) Benjamin (b. March 20, 1859), and George (b. 1861).[7]

Wilson Shannon Benjamin, Job’s younger brother by twelve years, was born on February 2, 1841, also in Licking County, Ohio.[8] He was named for Wilson Shannon, Ohio’s Democratic Governor from 1838-1840, and their first governor born in-state.[9] As an adult, Wilson stood approximately 5 feet 8 inches tall and had blue eyes, dark hair, and a dark complexion.[10] On August 31, 1862, ten years after settling in Illinois, 21 year-old Wilson married Lydia Ann Curtis (b. 1843).[11] Wilson and Lydia’s only child, William Jonathan, was born on September 12, 1863.[12]

Samuel Kirkman was born on May 16, 1845 in Harwood, Bolton borough, Lancashire, England, which is about 10 miles northwest of the city of Manchester.[13] (See Figure 3). He was the son of Robert Kirkman (1811-1891) and Alice Bromley Kirkman (1815-1890). Samuel had five brothers — Arthur (b. 1836), Felix (b. 1840), Robert (b. 1852), William (b. 1861), and Alexander (b. 1862) and five sisters — Phoebe (b. 1840), Betty (b. 1844), Mary Jane (b. 1848), Alice (b. 1850), and Hannah (b. 1855).[14] After emigrating with his family aboard the full rigged sailing vessel *West Point* (arrival date December 7, 1857) at the age of 12, Samuel grew up on farms near Kickapoo, Illinois.[15] By 1860, he was working as a farm hand (and likely living with) the Richard Howard family near Kickapoo.[16] When the Civil War began in April of 1861, he was just a month short of his sixteenth birthday. Samuel was approximately 5 feet 10½ inches tall with grey eyes, dark hair, and a dark complexion.[17]

The ancestral line of Samuel Kirkman would not join with that of the Benjamin line until 1920, when Beulah I. Doubet (daughter of John F. Doubet and Alice Ann Kirkman and granddaughter of Samuel Kirkman and Louisa Greenhalgh) married Harley W. Benjamin (son of William J. Benjamin and Viola Winchester and grandson of Wilson S. Benjamin and Lydia Ann Curtis).[18]

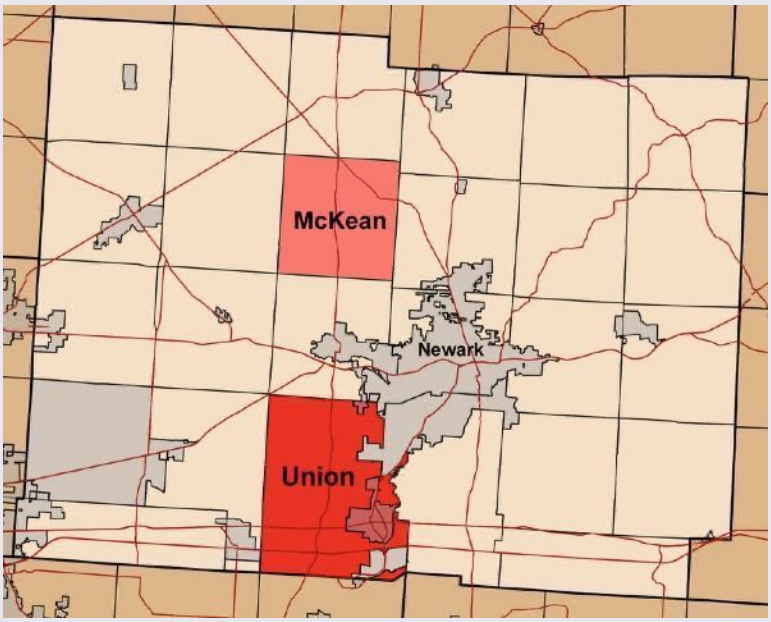


Figure 1: Job Benjamin was born in Union Township within Licking County, Ohio, but later moved back to McKean Township. Newark is the county seat.

Licking County, Ohio

Peoria County, Illinois

Figure 3: Samuel Kirkman was born in Harwood, Bolton borough, Lancashire, which today is part of the Greater Manchester region of northwest England.

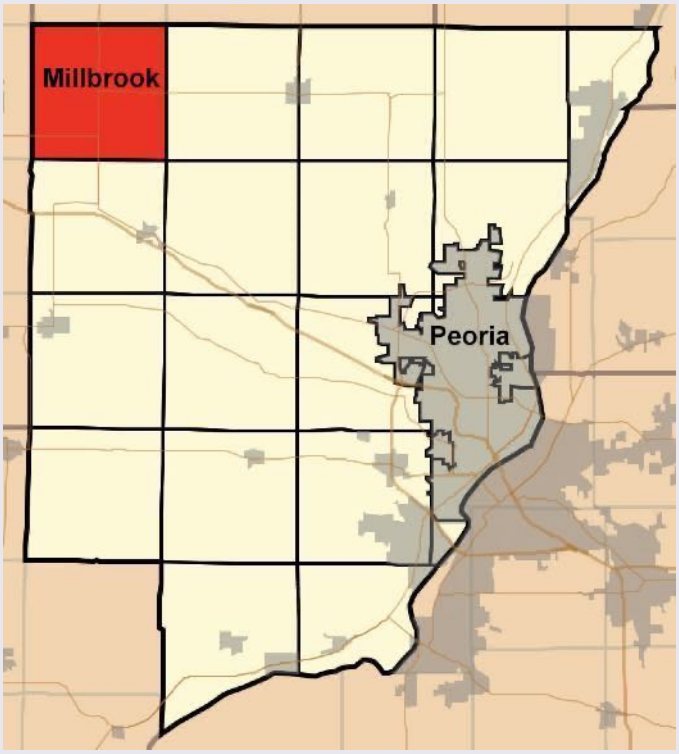


Figure 2: In 1852, Christopher Benjamin moved his family (including Job, 23 and Wilson, 11) from Ohio to Millbrook Township in Peoria County, Illinois. Peoria is the county seat.

My specific ancestral connection to each of these Civil War veterans is discussed at the end of this work in Appendix C. With pride and respect for the hardships endured and the battles fought by my great-great grandfathers, Samuel Kirkman and Wilson Benjamin, and my great-great-great uncle, Job Benjamin, I begin this story of my ancestral soldiers.

THE WAR BEGINS

When Fort Sumter fell to Confederate forces on April 13, 1861, the United States army consisted of fewer than 17,000 men, mostly stationed out west. This would quickly change! On April 15th, President Abraham Lincoln called upon the governors of the states and territories to provide 75,000 militiamen to serve for an original term of ninety days.[19]

Throughout the North, great numbers of young men volunteered for service to their country. Many still remembered their grandparents' stories of the Revolutionary War and were convinced that the United States was the world's greatest experiment in freedom and democracy. This sentiment was often echoed in the letters written by Union soldiers, who wrote that they were "fighting to maintain the best government on earth." [20]

Compared with the older, established states in the East, men from the "newer and rougher" Midwestern states responded with special enthusiasm to Lincoln's call.[21] As historian Victor Hicken described:

> The original request from the War Department was for six Illinois regiments, but the General Assembly, in a characteristic excess of patriotism, authorized ten. The initial six, numbering from the 7th to the 12th regiments, were quickly accepted into service. The remainder, including the various artillery and cavalry units also raised in April, were accepted by the War Department in June. The decision to accept such unrequested regiments was due partly to pressures brought upon the federal government by Representative John A. McClernand, a loyal southern Illinois democrat.[22]

In return for his efforts at recruitment and because of his political ties, McClernand would later command the army corps that Samuel Kirkman fought much of the war in.

After several early Union defeats in the summer of 1861, Congress authorized the President to call for 500,000 additional troops. In Illinois, regiments were formed numbering as high as the 55th Illinois. Brave Illinoisans came in droves to serve their country — so many, in fact, that there were more volunteers than the state could handle. In December, recruiting was called to a halt, only to resume in the summer of 1862.[23] When patriotism and the promise of adventure wasn't enough to entice young men to sign up, the economic incentive remained strong. Despite the fact that pay was only 13 dollars a month during most of the war, this amount was comparable to other jobs of the day and there was a certainty in army employment that was not necessarily found in the factory or the field.[24]

Perhaps caught up in the patriotic fever that was sweeping the country, 32-year-old Job A. Benjamin decided to leave his Ohio farm and join the fight. On November 5, 1861, he was mustered to serve a three-year term at Camp Sherman in Newark, Ohio, 32 miles east of Columbus. The officer overseeing his enlistment was Captain Levi P. Coman.[25] (See Figure 4).

B. | 76 | Ohio.

Job A. Benjamin,
Priv., Capt. Coman's Co., 76 Reg't Ohio Inf.*

Age 32 years.

Appears on

Company Muster-in Roll

of the organization named above. Roll dated
near Newark O., Dec 4, 186/.

Muster-in to date Nov. 5, 186 .

Joined for duty ~~and~~ enrolled: & mustered into the service of the U. S.
When Nov. 5, 186 .
Where Newark O.
Period 3 years.

Bounty paid $ 100; due $ 100

Remarks:

*This organization subsequently became Co. C, 76 Reg't Ohio Inf.

Book mark: 1456-A-1885-739/B 1885

Dickerson,
Copyist.

(356)

Figure 4: A copy of Job Benjamin's Company Muster-in. From the National Archives.

DAILY LIFE OF A CIVIL WAR SOLDIER

When Job Benjamin, Samuel Kirkman, and Wilson Benjamin joined the Union Army during the Civil War, they were undoubtedly filled with some of the same feelings described by Private William Bentley, who fought in the same regiment as Kirkman and wrote an eloquent account of their regimental history eighteen years after the war:

> [Although we knew full well of the dangers involved,] none of us felt less inclined to go. We had something dearer than life at stake, the perpetuation of our civil and religious liberties, and if the shedding of our blood would contribute to this end, we felt willing to make the sacrifice. At all events, it was our duty to go, and we went.[26]

The average Civil War soldier was 5 feet, 8 inches tall and weighed 143 pounds. The average age of a soldier was 25, but there were certainly those who were much younger, since recruiting offices were not particularly stringent on age.[27] Officially, a man had to be at least 18 years old to join the military. Men aged 18 to 20 years needed parental permission to enlist, while those over 45 were considered too old to serve.[28] (See Figure 5). Regardless of their size, age or vocation, newly recruited soldiers learned to endure a lifestyle unlike anything they had ever experienced before.

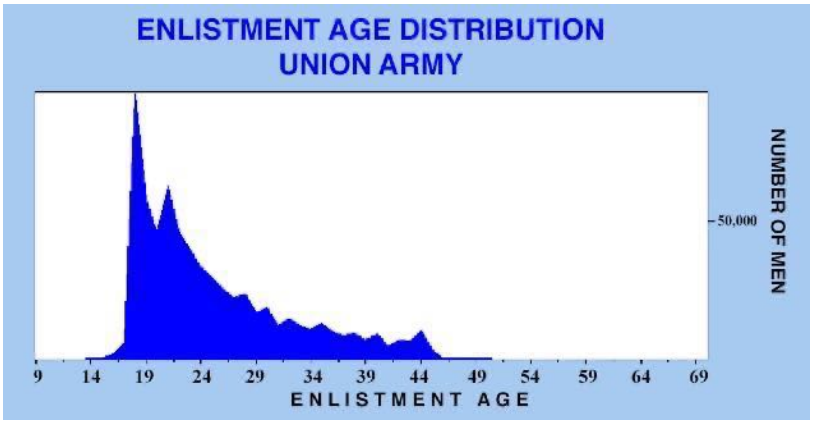


Figure 5: From American Civil War Research Database

The uniform was one of the first exciting distinctions of serving in the army. The Union foot soldier, or infantryman, was dressed in a loose, dark blue woolen sack coat over light blue trousers. A dark blue forage cap, leather brogan shoes, wool flannel shirt, and cotton flannel undergarments completed the regulation dress.[29]

Uniforms were trimmed with cords or colored stripes appropriate to their rank and military branch. Infantry trimmings were blue; artillery trimmings were red; and cavalry trimmings were yellow. Brass insignias worn on the hat also indicated a serviceman's branch — a bugle for infantry, crossed sabres for cavalry and crossed cannons for artillery.[30]

In addition to their rifle muskets, infantrymen carried a cartridge box with 40 rounds of ammunition, a percussion cap pouch, a sheathed bayonet, a canteen and a tin cup attached to either their belt or chest-crossing leather straps. A soldier’s food rations were carried in a black canvas bag called a haversack, which was worn around the neck or shoulders.[31]

On their backs, the soldier carried a knapsack. Inside the knapsack was an overcoat, spare clothing, food rations and personal belongings. Many soldiers also carried either a rubber sheet or one-half a “dog tent.” [32] With another soldier’s “other half” of a tent, two persons could erect a quick shelter. Atop their haversack, soldiers often carried a rolled woolen blanket.

All this equipment could weigh as much as 50 pounds. Due to this excessive weight, many soldiers discarded some of their equipment as they marched.[33] As the war progressed, soldiers made do with less and less. In time, many soldiers learned to survive by carrying only a rolled woolen blanket, a piece of shelter tent twisted together, and a haversack.[34]

The most important item that a soldier carried was his weapon. Samuel was armed for most of the war with a popular rifle musket called the Enfield rifle musket. Imported from England, the Enfield rifle weighed just over 9 pounds with bayonet, had a bore diameter of 0.577 inches, and was accurate to almost 800 yards.[35] The other major weapon of the Civil War soldier was the American-made Springfield (Massachusetts) rifle musket, which was the weapon carried by Wilson Benjamin and, eventually, Job Benjamin as well.[36] Charles Willison, a private who enlisted in Company I of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry nine months after Job Benjamin, recalled in his memoirs the fine characteristics of the American-made Springfield rifle:

> They were of the most approved workmanship, thoroughly accurate, with adjustable sights, gauged for 500 and 1,000 yards. Cartridges for these were composed of a conical lead ball nearly if not quite an inch long, with a beveled hollow at the rear end. This was fitted and attached to a cylinder of heavy paper filled with powder, so constructed as to be readily torn by the teeth, ready for insertion into the muzzle of the gun to be rammed home with the iron ramrod attached to the rifle.[37]

Unfortunately, the use of these fine weapons were not the Army “norm” at the onset of the war, when the Union armies procured any and all weapons that they could find. As a result, many Union regiments were equipped (actually ill-equipped) with substandard or outdated musket rifles. Job Benjamin's 76th Ohio, for example, carried second-hand Belgian rifles at the start of the war. According to Charles Willison, these rifles were short, heavy, and clumsy with a vicious recoil.

> It is said to often happen in the din of battle that men cannot tell when their guns “go off.” These guns of ours always let us know without question when we fired them, for mine kicked hard enough to bruise my shoulder. They carried a 69-caliber conical ball, a ball as big around as my thumb and could by no means be relied on for accurate marksmanship.[38]

Fortunately for the soldiers of the 76th Ohio, they would receive better rifles — “bright, new Springfield rifles carrying a 58-caliber conical ball” — in December of 1862.[39] Samuel's 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry were initially issued outdated flintlock rifles, but fortunately were given Enfield rifle muskets prior to leaving for active operations.[40]

All of these rifle muskets were single shot, muzzle loaded weapons detonated by a percussion cap.[41] Late in the War, a few Union troops began using the first breechloader repeating rifles, which allowed a soldier to fire multiple rounds without reloading.[42] Forty rounds of ammunition were carried in a soldier's cartridge box and 160 additional rounds were usually carried in their knapsacks.[43]

Compared to home cooking, the rations of the soldier were spartan. Union troops were issued one 16-ounce biscuit (hardtack, pilot bread or crackers) or 22 ounces of bread or flour, 1 1/4 pounds of fresh or salt meat or 3/4 pound of bacon. For each 100 men, the army also supplied eight gallons of beans, ten pounds of rice or hominy, ten pounds of coffee, fifteen pounds of sugar, four gallons of vinegar and two pounds of salt.[44] More often than not, however, the featured meal was hardtack, salt pork, and coffee.[45]

Hardtack was a cracker three inches square, a half-inch thick, and generally so stale that it was often unbreakable and nearly inedible. To make matters worse, supplies of hardtack were often infested with worms, leading soldiers to refer to them as “worm castles” or “sheet-iron crackers.” [46]

In addition to the hardtack, the average soldier did little more than fry a slab of bacon or salt pork, and boil some coffee. Coffee was such an important mainstay to the army that army officials worked hard to insure that “if only one commodity of nourishment was issued, it would

be coffee." [47] In a soldier's spare time, he would often assemble little bags of coffee and sugar mixed together for later use.[48]

Without refrigeration, fresh foods were rare unless they could be foraged (i.e. stolen) from the local countryside. Delivery of food supplies was poorly organized and badly managed, especially in the early years of the war.

Better food was available from sutlers that typically followed the armies, but at inflated prices that exceeded the limited means of most soldiers. At the beginning of the war, army privates received only $11 per month. In August of 1861, Congress increased this monthly rate to $13. In June of 1864, this wage was increased again to $16 a month. Adding to this relatively low wage was the fact that monthly payments to soldiers were notoriously tardy.[49] In addition to their regular monthly pay, each soldier was allowed $45 per year for clothing supplied by the government. Any amount in excess of $45 used for clothing was deducted from the soldier's pay.[50]

A Civil War soldier's chances of emerging from the war unscathed varied. The chances of a soldier dying in combat was 1 in 65. The chances of dying of disease (the war's primary killer of men) was 1 in 13. The chances of being wounded was 1 in 10.[51] Yet, despite these hardships, most soldiers made the most of their difficult situations and remained willing to serve their country and face unknown dangers.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ARMIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

Throughout this work, the army organizational assignment for Job Benjamin, Samuel Kirkman, and Wilson Benjamin will be given at each crucial battle and whenever a reassignment occurs. To fully appreciate this information, one must understand the organization of armies during the Civil War.[52]

The land forces were divided into territorial organizations (military posts, territorial districts, territorial departments) and operational organizations (infantry and cavalry divisions, army corps, and field armies). In this book, we will concern ourselves primarily with operational organizations.

Most Civil War operational forces belonged to the infantry service. Supporting the infantry service were soldiers from the artillery service (who operated the cannons) and the cavalry service (who rode horses to conduct raids and reconnoiter enemy troop movements). Most Union soldiers (80%) belonged to the infantry branch, while 14% served in the cavalry and 6% served in the artillery.[53]

Within the infantry, the smallest organization of soldiers was the "company." Each company had one captain, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, one first sergeant, four sergeants, eight corporals, two musicians, one wagoner, and between 64 and 82 privates. Companies were designated by letter, A through K, with J omitted. When the designation system was established in 1816, the letter J was omitted because it resembled the letter I in handwritten notes.[54]

No more than ten companies comprised a "regiment." The company and the regiment were the soldier's "battlefield family" — his friends and colleagues who shared all of war's victories and miseries. While the men took pride in their company, their greatest allegiance was to their regiment.[55] Federal regiments could have a maximum strength of 1,000 soldiers.

Two or more regiments combined to form a "brigade." Federal brigades averaged about 2,000 men and were generally composed of five regiments. Historian James I. Robertson, Jr. describes the characteristics of the Civil War brigade:

> Commanded by a brigadier general, the brigade usually had its own quartermaster, commissary and ammunition trains. Medical teams, and sometimes artillery, were assigned by brigades. Hence the unit was in effect a mini-army and able to act independently.[56]

Two or more brigades combined to form a "division." Federal divisions averaged about 6,000 men and were generally composed of between two and five brigades. The division, led by a major general, came to be the army's primary maneuvering unit. Most marching orders were directed at divisions.[57]

Two or more divisions combined to form a "corps." On the average, federal corps averaged about 18,000 men and were composed of three divisions. A Union Corps, commanded by a major general, was usually composed of 45 infantry regiments and 9 batteries of artillery. Samuel Kirkman and Wilson Benjamin were both part of the 13th Corps, while Job Benjamin was assigned to the 15th Corps.

The largest organization was appropriately known as the "army." The Union armies were generally named for their territorial department, which in turn were generally named for the rivers nearest their operation. A major general commanded a Union army.[58] Samuel Kirkman fought in the Union Army of the Mississippi and the Union Army of the Gulf. When Wilson Benjamin joined the war, he too was assigned to the Union Army of the Gulf. Job Benjamin fought in the Union Army of the Tennessee. There were at least 16 armies on the Union side.

To summarize, the organization hierarchy of the army (from smallest to largest) was as follows: company, regiment, brigade, division, corps, and army.

All three of my ancestral soldiers were privates in the United States Army's volunteer infantry. Above them in rank (in ascending order) were corporals, sergeants, second lieutenants, first lieutenants, captains (who usually commanded companies), majors, lieutenant colonels, colonels (who usually commanded regiments), brigadier generals (who usually commanded brigades), major generals (who usually commanded corps and armies), lieutenant generals (Ulysses Grant became the only one in March of 1864), and full generals (a rank only granted after the war).

BATTLE ACTION IN THE CIVIL WAR

Because Civil War battles typically involved so many soldiers, historical descriptions of battles often use the broadest strokes possible to describe the action. However, to fully appreciate the experience of the individual soldier during battle, I have extracted a series of quotes from James I. Robertson, Jr.'s acclaimed book, entitled *Soldiers Blue and Gray*:

> Loading a musket was a multistage process. The soldier reached into his cartridge box and got a cartridge, which consisted of a ball and a charge of powder wrapped together in paper. He tore open the cartridge with his teeth, emptied the powder down the barrel of the musket, and inserted the bullet with the pointed end up. The soldier then drew the ramrod from beneath the barrel and tamped down ball and powder, then returned the ramrod to its place (unless, of course, he was in battle). Next he half-cocked the hammer and placed a firing cap atop the little protrusion at the back end of the barrel. He then took position, cocked the hammer fully, aimed the musket, and pulled the trigger.[59]

Despite boasting to the contrary, marksmanship with the rifle musket was generally poor throughout the duration of the war. Historian James Robertson, Jr. elaborates: "Statistics kept of target practices were consistent in showing that at a distance of 150 yards, one shot out of three hitting the target was indeed a good score." [60]

The tactics of Civil War armies are well described by Albert Castel in his book *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*:

> Preceding each division, in accordance with the standard practice of both armies, is a skirmish line. This is provided by having one or two companies from the lead regiments go forward, widely spread and taking advantage of every bit of cover, to try to ascertain where the enemy is and how strong. Should the enemy forces counterattack, the skirmishers will delay them as long as possible, then scamper back to their own main line. When the actual charge takes place, they will lie down until the assault passes over them, then leap up and join it. . . A regular "line of battle" is formed by the companies of a regiment (with few exceptions ten in number) aligning themselves in two ranks, each company in a standard, prescribed spot: [61]

Once the soldiers of the blue and grey met one another in combat, the sequence of events was often much different than portrayed in twentieth century films, as described by James Robertson, Jr.:

> In the final seconds before the attack, the column generally became completely quiet as each man wrestled with his emotions and prepared for the ordeal at hand. One soldier described it in poetic terms. "The soldier's soul becomes a theater where the two star actors, HOPE and FEAR rehearse the coming battles, supported by Imagination, Apprehension, Patriotism, Courage, Doubt, Resolution, Ambition, and a host of others." . . . One side would usually line up to attack across an expanse of ground against the fortified position of the other side. The soldier making the assault was to keep his place in the tight formation, touching the elbow of the man on either side of him, and maintaining a distance of 1 to 2 feet from the soldier in his front. The officers were inside the ranks or just behind them ... An attack was not an uninterrupted, steady advance across a field with fixed bayonets. The assaulting soldiers would rush forward a few yards, fire a volley, reload, and dash a few more yards before firing again, and then make a final run toward the enemy works. No matter how precise or meticulous an assault, or how organized or prepared a defense, the whole situation seemed to disintegrate once the battle began . . . For the living, the end of a battle brought numb exhaustion. Rest, food and water during the hours of fighting had been practically non-existent ... The weariness would linger for days after the engagement, as would the shock and sadness at comrades lost in battle.[62]

Nineteenth century 'End Marks'

At the end of many chapters in this work, you will notice the insertion of end marks, which are typographic elements that signal the end of an article or chapter.

In the nineteenth century, publishers often used decorative flourishes as end marks, such as those used in William H. Bentley's History of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, published in 1883.

Several of Bentley's original end marks are reproduced on pages viii, 9, 27, 50, 62, 77, 92, 95, and 137 of this work.

1862

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE BATTLE OF FORT DONELSON

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer infantry Regiment (Colonel William Burnam Woods) — 3rd Brigade (Colonel John Milton Thayer) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General Lewis Wallace) — Military District of Cairo (Brigadier General Ulysses Simpson Grant).[1]

While Union forces in the eastern theater were slowed by overly cautious leaders (namely General George McClellan), the Union forces in the west were led by officers who had a clearer mission and a better strategy. “Whatever nation gets control of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers,” wrote William Tecumseh Sherman, “will control the continent.” [2]

In September of 1861, Brigadier General Ulysses Simpson Grant was given command of the District of Southeast Missouri, headquartered in Cairo, Illinois.[3] Shortly thereafter, he ordered Federal troops to seize Paducah, Kentucky, thereby giving the Union army control over two important waterways — the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. By early 1862, Grant had established new objectives downstream along these two rivers — the Confederate strongholds of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson in northern Tennessee.[4]

Job Benjamin, aged 32, was part of the Union force that was brought to Tennessee to capture these rebel forts. Entering the Civil War as a private in Company C of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Job hadn’t likely done very much since his enlistment in November of 1861. Muster records do record an absence without leave (AWOL) for Job on January 26, 1862 in Fredonia, Ohio, an unincorporated village in Licking County, Ohio.[5] Shortly thereafter, in early February of 1862, he and his regiment left camp in Licking County, Ohio, bound for Paducah, Kentucky. Once there, his 76th Ohio was sent down the Cumberland River to a landing just north of Fort Donelson, where General Grant’s Union army was stationed. Job’s regiment arrived on February 13, 1862 and, along with other available regiments, was immediately formed into a 3rd Division of Grant's Army, commanded by Brigadier General Lew Wallace.[6]

Exactly one week before Job’s arrival, Grant’s forces had attacked nearby Fort Henry, situated on the Tennessee River, and had captured it after a short and nearly bloodless battle. Most of the Confederate soldiers at Fort Henry escaped to Fort Donelson, just 12 miles to the east, with the Union army in hot pursuit. With the addition of the new regiments, Grant’s army now numbered 27,000.[7] The 3rd Division, containing the 76th Ohio, occupied the center of a Union line that was now poised to assault Fort Donelson.[8]

But compared with Fort Henry, Fort Donelson was a much more formidable stronghold. Built on a bluff overlooking the Cumberland River, it consisted of earthworks surrounding about fifteen acres of land. Two miles of fortifications ringed the earthworks and the nearby hamlet of Dover, Tennessee.[9] Thirteen large guns protected by embrasures guarded the fort. Rifle pits, felled trees, ditches, and water bogs surrounded Fort Donelson and made it a very defensible location for the rebel soldiers inside.[10] Making the situation even more difficult, the weather turned sharply colder during the evening of February 13th, bringing in blizzard conditions and subfreezing temperatures to a Union army that was ill-prepared for such conditions.[11]

Despite the frigid weather, General Grant ordered a gunboat assault of the fort on February 14th, which failed. Union troops now settled in for a siege, hoping to patiently force the rebels to surrender. Since campfires were prohibited to avoid detection by enemy pickets, February 14th was another bitter cold and sleepless night for many of the Union soldiers encircling Fort Donelson.[12]

Inside the fort, Confederate leaders realized that the Union army was only getting larger and their own supplies were only getting shorter. Something had to be done. At dawn on February 15, 1862, the Confederates attacked the Union right flank with devastating force. Their object was to break out of Fort Donelson and escape through the Federal lines to reach Charlotte, Tennessee, nearly 100 miles to the southeast. The Confederates under Brigadier General Gideon Pillow surged ferociously onto the Union right flank, forcing it backwards. With the Union right flank in retreat, General Lew Wallace made the brave and important decision to send his division (with the 76th Ohio) to reinforce the Union position and oppose the enemy assault.

Wallace's decisive action, along with the return of Grant, who had been absent from the fighting while he consulted his gunboat commander, turned the momentum of the battle in favor of the Union.[13] Rallied by Grant's return, the federals fought to retake their lost ground and began an assault of their own on the opposite end of their line (i.e. the Union left).

The Confederate breakout attempt failed, and they were forced to return to their defensive positions that night. On February 16, 1862, Confederate forces within Fort Donelson accepted General Grant's "ungenerous" terms of unconditional surrender. Upon hearing this, northern newspapers declared that they now knew what the initials "U.S." in Grant's name stood for — "Unconditional Surrender Grant." [14]

The Battle of Fort Donelson was the first major Confederate defeat of the Civil War.[15] Despite 2,832 killed or wounded soldiers, the Union army could claim the capture of 15,000 Confederate prisoners, weaponry and equipment.[16] More importantly, the victory gained all of Kentucky and most of Tennessee for the Union and heralded the emergence of Ulysses Grant as a major player in the Civil War.[17]

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel Charles Robert Woods) — 3rd Brigade (Colonel Charles Henry Whittelsey) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General Lewis Wallace) — Army of the Tennessee (Brigadier General Ulysses Simpson Grant).[18]

With the surrender of Forts Henry and Donelson, the Confederacy lost control of two vital waterways and the valuable services of 15,000 soldiers that were taken prisoner by Union troops. Confederate forces were forced to withdraw to Corinth, in northernmost Mississippi. There they gathered strength and planned a strategy to defend their vital railroad supply line, regain parts of Tennessee, repel the invading Union armies, and redeem themselves on the battlefield. Their strategy would set the stage for the first great bloody battle of the Civil War — Shiloh.[19]

The Battle of Shiloh, fought in early April of 1862, was an extremely hard-fought, two-day battle waged near the town of Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee, situated on the Tennessee River just north of the Mississippi state line. Union troops commanded by Ulysses Grant, numbering 42,000, were camped in wooded ravines waiting for Major General Don Carlos Buell's Army of the Ohio to join them.[20] Once these two armies were united, Grant planed to advance them into Mississippi. Fully aware of the Union threat, Confederate General Albert Sydney Johnston knew he had to strike Grant's forces before the Army of the Ohio could arrive. On Sunday morning, April 6, 1862, the Confederates attacked, driving back the drowsy and utterly surprised Union army. All day long, the Union soldiers fought a losing battle as they were repeatedly driven from one defensive position to another.

Eight out of ten soldiers on both sides had never been in combat before. A veteran of Fort Donelson tried to rally his Illinois farm boys by saying "It's just like shooting squirrels, only

these squirrels have guns, that's all." [21] The Union's right and left flanks were pushed back by the determined rebel assault. If it weren't for the valiant Union defense at a place thereafter known as the "Hornet's Nest" (a thicket-rimmed sunken road in the center of the Union line), the battle of Shiloh may have become a major Union disaster. Held for nearly six hours by southern Illinois farm boys under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin Prentiss, the "Hornet's Nest" was finally forced to surrender at 5:30 that evening.[22] Despite their ultimate surrender, Union soldiers at the "Hornet's Nest" had greatly helped the Union cause by wasting their opponents' valuable time. More time was lost by the sheer logistics of surrendering 2,200 men to Confederate forces. Darkness finally brought an end to the first day's fighting at Shiloh. The rebels had proven their fighting ability, and were confident that they could "finish off the Yankees in the morning." [23]

During that first day at Shiloh, General Lew Wallace's 3rd Division, now containing about 5,000 men including the 76th Ohio Infantry, was positioned at the extreme right of the Union line, five miles downriver (to the north) of Grant's main force, at a place called Crump's Landing.[24] Job Benjamin's 3rd Brigade was positioned on the far end of a line extending 2½ miles westward from Crump's Landing.[25] The 3rd Division had been stationed there because Grant felt that the enemy was more likely to capture Crump's Landing, where most of the Union's transports and stores were kept, than Pittsburg Landing.[26] He was mistaken.

As soon as Grant realized that the main rebel assault was directed at Pittsburg Landing instead, he ordered the 3rd Division to march southward to join the main army. Not knowing that the division had already advanced a short distance out of Crump's Landing in response to enemy fire, Grant ordered their division "to follow the nearest road." No longer positioned near the Tennessee River, Wallace's division followed the wrong road, which they soon discovered was blocked by enemy forces. The division had no choice but to backtrack their course, all but ensuring that they would not arrive for the first day's fighting.[27] During this forced roundabout march, the soldiers of Job Benjamin's division were constantly exposed to enemy fire.[28]

The first day of the Battle of Shiloh had not been a good one for the Union army. The Union Army of the Tennessee had been forced to retreat three miles. Four Union divisions had suffered heavy losses and one division had been nearly destroyed, along with large quantities of camp supplies and ammunition.[29] That night, General Sherman commented to Grant, "we've had the devil's own day, haven't we?" Grant replied, "Yes, Lick 'em tomorrow." [30]

Grant was correct. The second day of the Battle of Shiloh — April 7, 1862 — was an absolute reversal of the first day. The Union army, reinforced that night by General Buell's Army of the Ohio and Wallace's 3rd Division marching in from Crump's Landing, attacked the weary Confederate army at dawn. The Union army drove the rebels back through the same woods they had fought the day before. Confederate General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard, who had replaced General Johnston when Johnston was killed during the first day's fighting, ordered his rebel forces back to Corinth, Mississippi, ending the battle of Shiloh.[31]

The Battle of Shiloh saw 13,047 Union and 11,694 Confederate soldiers either killed, wounded, or missing — nearly one in four soldiers who participated in battle.[32] Adding up the casualties on both North and South, more soldiers were killed at the battle of Shiloh than during the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War combined.[33] And yet, there would be many more such ferocious battles to fight in the four years ahead.

THE MARCH TO CORINTH

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel Charles Robert Woods) — 3rd Brigade (Colonel Charles Henry Whittelsey) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General Lewis Wallace) — Reserve Wing, April 21 to late-July, 1862 (Brigadier General John Alexander McClernand); Army of 2nd Territorial District of Eastern Arkansas, after late-July (Brigadier General Alvin Peterson Hovey) — Army of the Missouri (Major General Henry Wager Halleck).[34]

Major General Henry Wager Halleck, commander of the Union Department of the Missouri, was not pleased with the surprise that had been dealt Union troops at the Battle of Shiloh. On the day after Easter, April 21, 1862, Halleck arrived on the scene, took overall command away from Grant, and reorganized the army into a right wing, center wing, left wing, and reserve wing. General John Alexander McClernand's 1st Division was combined with General Lew Wallace's 3rd Division to form the reserve wing, with McClernand assuming command. Grant was demoted to second in command of the army's right wing, now commanded by Major General George Henry Thomas.[35]

The debacle at Shiloh and the reorganization of the army had another key effect — it elevated the status of John McClernand of Illinois. At the onset of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln had many reasons to appoint McClernand as brigadier general. Not only had McClernand served in both the Illinois state legislature and United States Congress with Abraham Lincoln, but the two men's wives were close friends as well. Even more important was the strategic importance of McClernand's home district of southern Illinois. Anti-Union sentiment was strong in this region, and McClernand's pro-Union stance and popularity were extremely valuable to Lincoln to maintain this region's allegience to the Union cause. Appointed as one of several "political generals" at the onset of the war by Abraham Lincoln in an attempt to maintain hold on the key border states, McClernand used his political influence with Lincoln on numerous occasions during the war. By doing so, McClernand hoped to elevate his standing in the Union army, but in reality, his self-serving nature did him more harm than good in the long run. By ignoring the chain of command and playing directly to the press and the politicians, McClernand seriously undermined his own credibility in the eyes of the more traditional, West Point officers — in particularly Grant and Sherman.[36]

On April 30th, the army under General Halleck began its march to Corinth, Mississippi, 22 miles to the southwest. The advance was slow and cautious. By the time they finally arrived there on May 30th, the Confederates had already abandoned the town.[37] After a brief stay in Corinth, the 76th Ohio marched 130 miles to Memphis, arriving on June 17, 1862.[38]

On July 21, 1862, William Tecumseh Sherman, who had been promoted to Major General in May, took command of the Territorial District of Memphis.[39] At approximately the same time, command of the 3rd Division was transferred from General Wallace to Brigadier General Alvin Peterson Hovey, who commanded the 2nd Territorial District of Eastern Arkansas.[40] The 3rd Division, including Job Benjamin's 76th Ohio, proceeded down the Mississippi River on July 24th and encamped near Helena, Arkansas, about 55 miles southwest of Memphis.[41]

JOB'S LITTLE BROTHER WILSON

While Job Benjamin was fighting for the Union army in Tennessee, younger brother Wilson was back in Illinois probably beginning to think about spring planting. Wilson was 20 years old when the Civil War began. Unlike Samuel Kirkman and his older brother Job, Wilson Benjamin apparently lacked any desire to join the Civil War. Instead, he helped his father Christopher farm the land they had acquired ten years earlier in Peoria County, Illinois. On August 31, 1862, at the age of 21, Wilson married Lydia Ann Curtis. Thirteen months later, on September 12, 1863, Lydia gave birth to what would be their only child, a son they named William Jonathan Benjamin.[42] With a family to support, Wilson had less reason than ever to join the war.

PEORIANS ARE COMING, FATHER ABRAHAM

On June 28, 1862, the governors of several northern states, responding to a growing feeling that the Union army was not performing as well as it should, urged President Lincoln to press additional troops into service to fill vacancies in the army and to suppress the rebellion. They told the President that the young men in their states were willing to sacrifice life and property for the restoration of the Union and the perpetuity of our free institutions.[43]

Just three days later, President Lincoln responded to this suggestion by calling for 300,000 more men. Throughout the country, men soon responded en masse to Abraham Lincoln's call for volunteers. Among the Illinois regiments organized under the President's call was the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, which was organized in Peoria.

William Bentley's regimental history records that most men joined Samuel Kirkman's Company K between August 7th and 17th.[44] These include at least four of my ancestors, two of whom were only discovered through genealogical research in early 2020.

The first of my four ancestral soldiers in this regiment to enlist — on August 9th — was **John M. LaFollette**, age 18, who according to Illinois state muster records, was a giant among men at 6 foot, 5 inches tall. (See Figure 7). Those same muster records list his martial status as single and occupation as farmer.[45] Genealogical records show that John was born in February of 1844, most likely in Peoria County, Illinois.[46] The most recent (1860) census, which had occurred almost exactly two years before, had indicated that John lived at home with his father Adam, his stepmother Martha Johnson LaFollette, older brother Jacob, Jacob's twin sister Mahala, another older sister Louisa, younger brothers James and Joseph, a younger sister Elizabeth, a younger stepsister Ann, and a younger stepbrother George.[47]

Two days later — August 11th — his older brother **Jacob Jackson LaFollette** (and the second of my four ancestral soldiers) enlisted. (See Figure 8). Jacob, age 22, had been born on September 17, 1840 in Rosefield Township, Peoria County, Illinois, which is about 10 miles west of the city of Peoria.[48]

Two days after that — August 13th — **Samuel Kirkman**, the youngest of these four men, enlisted for a three-year term in Kickapoo by Captain Rynearson, despite the fact that he was nine months short of the minimum enlistment age of 18.[49] (See Figures 6 and 9).

Two days later, the oldest of these four ancestral soldiers of mine enlisted. His name was **Daniel Fletcher Slane**, and whether by coincidence or design, his day of enlistment — Friday, August 15, 1862 — was also his 58th birthday.[50] (See Figure 10).

Daniel Slane was born in Hampshire County, Virginia (now West Virginia) on August 15, 1804, the third of fourteen children born to Benjamin Franklin Slane. Hampshire County had been surveyed by a 16-year-old George Washington in 1748, some 56 years before Daniel's

PHOTO GALLERY: MY CLOSEST CIVIL WAR ANCESTORS

Figure 6: Samuel Kirkman (1845-1931)
My great-great grandfather

Civil War era photographs of three of the author's closest Civil War ancestors are known to exist.

The images of **Samuel Kirkman** and **John LaFollette** are cropped versions of carte de visite photographs originally owned by Samuel Kirkman. See Appendix B.

The image of **Jacob LaFollette** was adapted from a Civil War era photograph posted on *Ancestry.com* by user ClydeHendricks.

No Civil War era photographs of **Job Benjamin**, **Daniel Slane**, or **Wilson Benjamin** are known to exist.

Appendix C explains how these men are related to the author and identifies additional Union soldiers who are more distantly related to the author.

Figure 7: John LaFollette (1844-1913)
My first cousin, 4 times removed

Figure 8: Jacob LaFollette (1840-1920)
My first cousin, 4 times removed

K | 77 | Ill.

Samuel Kirkman

Priv., Co. K, 77 Reg't Illinois Infantry.

Age ..... years.

Appears on

Company Muster Roll*

for Dated Oct. 31, 1862

Joined for duty and enrolled:

When Aug. 13, 186 .

Where Kickapoo

Period ..... years. During war

Mustered in:

When Sept. 2, 186 .

Where Peoria

Present or absent Mus'd Stated

Stoppage, $.....100 for.....

Due Gov't, $.....100 for .....

Remarks:.....

* ☞First current roll. No muster-in roll of this company on file.

Book mark : .....

F. D. Neals

(358d) Copyist.

Figure 9: A copy of Samuel Kirkman's first Company Muster Roll. From the National Archive.

Figure 10: This post-war image of Daniel Slane was adapted from a family photograph owned by Roland Benjamin.

birth. Sometime around the time of Daniel's marriage to Mahala LaFollette in 1827, the couple moved west to Guernsey County, in east-central Ohio. There, they raised five daughters, the last one born in 1835. During the next 14 years, they would have five more children, some born in Ohio and some born in Peoria County, Illinois, which is where they would eventually buy land and settle down for good.[51]

For about 14 years before he answered Abraham Lincoln's call for men on that August day, Daniel and Mahala lived on land that they owned in Rosefield Township of Peoria County, Illinois, which lies just west of Samuel Kirkman's Kickapoo Township.[52] Although there is no indication that Daniel Slane had ever met Samuel before, he certainly knew the LaFollette brothers. Jacob and John were nephews of Daniel Slane's wife (Mahala LaFollette), making them his nephews by marriage.[53]

Daniel Slane was listed as the Company K musician in Bentley's Regimental History, and other records indicate that he played the fife.[54] Coupled with his older age, the high, shrill notes of his fife would have made Daniel Slane hard to miss.

Unfortunately, Daniel was also 58 years old, and at some point in time, this fact was discovered, and he was discharged from the regiment. The Union Army considered those over 45 years of age as too old to serve.[55] Daniel exceeded that upper limit by 13 years! Bentley's Regimental History reported that he "discharged for disability" and the Illinois Roster of Officers and Enlisted Men notes that he was mustered out at Saint Louis, Missouri.[56] It is not clear how long he was with the regiment, but it was certainly not long enough for him to experience any of the sufferings of war.

Unbeknownst to either Daniel Slane or Samuel Kirkman, their ancestral paths would eventually cross, but not for thirty more years, when Daniel's grandson (John Franklin Doubet) married Samuel's daughter (Alice Ann Kirkman) on Feb 18, 1892. Sadly, that was eight years after Daniel's death on February 21, 1884. However, because that marriage took place, I can claim Daniel Slane as my 3rd great grandfather and my fourth Union soldier in the Civil War. Because of his age, Daniel was one generation older than my three primary Civil War ancestors.[57]

The 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry was comprised of young men from a variety of townships and cities in Central Illinois, specifically the Illinois counties of Peoria, Woodford, Knox, Marshall, and Putnam.[58] Records show that Company K's officers at the mustering in of the regiment were Captain Ephraim C. Rynearson, First Lieutenant William H. White, and Second Lieutenant Sylvester S. Edwards, all of Rosefield Township.[59]

The same day that he joined the regiment, Samuel and his fellow enlistees marched from the fairgrounds (located along present day North Reservoir Boulevard in Peoria) down to Camp Lyons, the newly designated name for their assigned campground near the American Pottery Company at 1500 North Adams Street in Peoria.[60]

On September 2, 1862, the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry was formally mustered into service in Peoria by Captain Wainwork. Charles Ballance, a prominent citizen of Peoria who had organized the regiment during the summer, was given command of the regiment by Illinois Governor Richard Yates. However, because of Mr. Ballance's advanced age, the command was transferred to the younger David Perkins Grier, who was also well known in Peoria, and who had earlier served with the 8th Missouri Volunteer Infantry at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, and

Corinth. Ironically, Colonel Grier's old regiment had followed the same progression of battle as Job Benjamin's regiment, the 76th Ohio.[61]

From September 3rd until October 4th, the 77th Illinois remained in camp in Peoria. As Private William Bentley of Company I recalled:

> Our time while in camp was chiefly occupied with company and battalion drill, thereby fitting us for active service in the field ... We were well uniformed in the regulation suit of blue ... and were soon armed with Enfield rifles.[62]

On September 20th, the regiment received a national flag and religious books from the ladies of Peoria. The soldiers also made their first attempts at cooking on their own, supplemented by frequent deliveries of food from lady friends visiting camp. The "happy days" of camp life ended on October 4th, when orders were given to the regiment to pack knapsacks and prepare two day's rations for the coming march. The war was about to begin for Samuel Kirkman.[63]

THE DESERTION OF JOB BENJAMIN

In early August of 1862, the Union Army of the Southwest was reorganized. Job Benjamin's 76th Ohio was assigned to the 2nd Brigade (commanded by Colonel Charles Robert Woods), which in turn was part of the 3rd Division (commanded by Brigadier General Peter Joseph Osterhaus), which in turn was part of the 15th Army Corps (commanded by Major General William Tecumseh Sherman).[64]

The 76th Ohio was being readied to move down the Mississippi River to take part in an "expedition of observation" in Louisiana.[65] Charles Willison, a private in Company I who later collected his personal letters and recollections to write his wartime memoirs, first joined the 76th Ohio on August 18th, while it was encamped in Helena, Arkansas. He described Helena as a small town, but an important military station on the west bank of the Mississippi River some fifty miles south of Memphis. "The routine of soldier life at Helena was monotonous," he added.[66] However, neither the Louisiana expedition nor the monotonous camp life would concern Private Job Benjamin. For on August 10, 1862, Job Benjamin deserted from his camp at Helena.[67] (See Figure 11).

Although military and pension records obtained from the National Archives show some details of Job's desertion, they do not shed any light on his motivation. Research shows that during the summer of 1862, morale among Union troops was waning. This problem was described by Bell Irvin Wiley in his critically acclaimed book, entitled *The Life of Billy Yank*:

> The (military] stalemate and failure [in the eastern campaigns], sickness and suffering, toil and weariness that came with the summer [of 1862] caused a recession [in morale.] Many a Yank lost his enthusiasm, if not his patriotism, in the steaming lowlands near Richmond and New Orleans and the hot hills and valleys of the country about Corinth, Mississippi.[68]

Ironically, Charles Willison' memoirs described three other soldiers from the 76th Ohio who had deserted two days before Job Benjamin's departure. On September 28th, they were returned to the regiment during an inspection. One was taken to a military prison and the other two were sentenced to six months of hard labor.[69]

There are at least four explanations for Job's desertion. One has him returning home because of illness, another has him attending his brother Wilson's wedding in Illinois, a third has him deserting because of an unspecified problem at home, and the fourth explanation is cowardice. None of these versions can be proved; each version is possible; each version has its share of likelihoods and shortcomings.

B | 76 | Ohio.

Job A. Benjamin

Pvt, Co. C, 76 Reg't Ohio Infantry.

Appears on

Company Muster Roll

for July & Aug, 1862.

Present or absent

Stoppage $ 100 for

Due Gov't $ 100 for

Remarks: Deserted from camp near Helena Ark Aug 10th 1862 He owes for one French Rifle Musket and Accoutrements $16 72/100 one Knapsack $4 50/100 H. Sack 32 cts canteen 32 cts

Roll for Sept & Oct 63 next on which borne.

Book mark:

C. C. Parker

(358) *Copyist.*

Figure 11: A copy of Job Benjamin's July-August, 1862 Company Muster Roll, with the first record of his desertion. From the National Archives.

Version One has Job leaving because of an unspecified illness. Disease, marginal rations and low morale were certainly taking their toll on all soldiers during the summer of 1862. In late July, the weather was “intensely hot” in the southern Mississippi River valley, adding further to the soldier's misery.[70] Support for the “illness theory” comes from one piece of evidence found in the National Archives — the Descriptive List of Deserters Arrested, dated July 22, 1863. This form states that Job was arrested on July 22, 1863 in Sylvania, Ohio. It then added the following remarks: “This man was taken prisoner in Arkansas and paroled — was sent away from regt. and he went home. He was very sick for four months after coming home.” Although this version of the incident is certainly more sympathetic to Job, it is not supported by any other piece of army evidence. And if he were so sick, why didn’t the company muster rolls indicate his illness? Why wasn't he granted a leave to go home if he was that sick? And, most baffling, if he was truly “very sick,” why did the army judge him so harshly, call him a deserter, raise the possibility of a general court martial and deny him his pension in later years?

Version Two goes as follows: Job Benjamin had seen more of the war than he wanted to at the battles of Fort Donelson and Shiloh. Like many of his fellow soldiers, he longed to return home. But it may not have been his fear of battle, the scorching heat, or the poor living conditions that prompted Job’s decision to desert the army — it may have been his younger brother’s wedding in Illinois.

As stated earlier, in 1852, Job, his wife Elizabeth, and their one son James Wilson moved with Job’s family to Millbrook Township, Peoria County, Illinois. Job and Elizabeth had two more children in the next three years, but sometime between early 1856 and December of 1858, they moved back to McKean Township in Licking County, Ohio, which was a little farther north than Union Township, where he had been born. Job was living here when the Civil War broke out.

Genealogical records show that his younger brother Wilson was married to Lydia Ann Curtis on August 31, 1862 — exactly three weeks after Job Benjamin’s date of desertion.[71] A combination of low morale and his brother’s upcoming wedding in Illinois may have motivated him to leave his unit to attend his brother’s wedding. In short, Job may have decided that family obligations outweighed military obligations.

If Version Two is correct, what did he do for the next 11 months? Did he just decide that he had had enough of war and subsequently returned to his family in Ohio? Perhaps. But, with the exception of the coincidence of dates, this “wedding theory” has no supporting evidence.

Version Three, which similarly has no evidence to support it, assumes that some problem back in Ohio, communicated by his wife’s letters, may have prompted Job to desert his unit. As Historian Bell Irvin Wiley explains:

> Letters bringing any sort of bad news from home were apt to be upsetting, and if they told of want, sickness, neglect, or persecution by kinfolk, unfriendliness by neighbors, or indicated a weakening of marital bonds, they might lead to complete demoralization and desertion.[72]

However, with no surviving personal letters, it is impossible to confirm this “problem at home” theory.

Version Four is the simplest and most humiliating explanation of all — cowardice. The pride that Job Benjamin felt when he volunteered for the army in November of 1861 may have been transformed into discouragement and fear by his constant exposure to death, wounded comrades, rampant disease, terrible conditions, and the prospect of a long and bloody war.

Chances are, we will never know why Job deserted and what he did for the 11 months thereafter. Perhaps there are elements of truth in all these theories, but it is difficult to know so many years after the fact.

Whatever his motivation may have been, the sequence of events is clear. Job Benjamin deserted from his unit on August 10, 1862 and remained absent for over one year.[73] He was arrested on July 22, 1863 in Sylvania, Ohio and turned over to the Provost Marshall in the 13th Congressional District of Ohio.[74] From there, he was apparently transported to Cairo, Illinois and turned over to the Provost Marshall of the 10th District of Illinois. Records show his subsequent transport from Cairo to Memphis, Tennessee on or about September 3, 1863 at a cost of $8.30 (apparently borne by the Illinois Provost Marshall).[75] On September 18, 1863, Job Benjamin rejoined his unit stationed near Vicksburg, Mississippi.[76]

As will be described later, Job remained with his unit through the Chattanooga Campaign, the Atlanta Campaign, and the Carolinas Campaign. In the Battle of Atlanta in July 22, 1864, Job Benjamin sustained a gunshot wound just above his right eye, which blinded him in that eye.

On June 9, 1865, after the Civil War had ended, Job was pardoned and restored to full duty without trial by the Headquarters of the 1st Division of the 15th Army Corps. The threat of a general court-martial no longer apparently stood against him, but the record of his desertion could not be expunged from his military record. Despite this minor triumph, on June 19, 1865, Job deserted again near Louisville, Kentucky.[77] This time, the army either did not pursue him or was unsuccessful in finding him.

This second desertion from the army, coming after the end of the Civil War, effectively denied Job Benjamin an honorable discharge and a government pension in his later years. Despite numerous attempts, neither Job nor his widow were ever able to collect a government pension because of this “black spot” on his army record.

Details of Job’s war record between September 18, 1863 and the end of the Civil War, including the gunshot wound he sustained in Atlanta, will be described in later chapters of this book.

SAMUEL KIRKMAN HEADS SOUTH FOR KENTUCKY

Samuel Kirkman and the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry remained in camp in Peoria until October 4th, when it boarded a train in the afternoon. William Wiley, a private in Company F (later transferred to Company C) described the regiment’s first surprise of the war in his October 4th journal entry:

> On arriving at the depot we found that the accommodations furnished for us in the way of transportation was not exactly what we had expected . . . Our cars were not the modern pallance cars but simply box cars with seats improvised for the occasion around the sides and through the center with rough two inch lumber.[78]

Private William Bentley of Company I described their departure from Peoria:

> ... the farewell kiss enjoyed -- the engine whistled -- the wheels began to revolve, and that long line of cars, filled with soldiers, bound for “Dixie,” moved off, leaving home and friends, with all their endearing joys behind.[79]

Actually, the 77th Illinois was headed for Indianapolis and then on to Cincinnati, Ohio. After arriving at Cincinnati on October 6th, the 77th Illinois crossed the Ohio River on a pontoon bridge and went into camp in the outskirts of Covington, Kentucky.

Also enlisting in the 77th Illinois (as a musician in Company E) was Daniel Burchard Allen, a former surveyor from Elmwood. Soon after arriving in camp, Allen began recording his war experiences in his detailed journal. Unlike the journals kept by William Bentley and William Wiley, Daniel Allen's journal describes the war in a far less positive light. In his seven months

with the 77th Illinois, he described, in no uncertain terms, the health challenges he faced, the horrors of war, and the atrocities committed by both sides upon the civilian population.[80]

Upon the regiment's arrival in Covington, Daniel Allen described their trip in a letter to his wife Sarah:

> We have just arrived here upon the bear naked ground, and no prospect of anything but the cold ground to sleep on tonight, no tents to be had tonight. Well we finally left Peoria about 5 o'clock Saturday afternoon, we were finally stowed away in box cars with nothing but hard bread and cheese to eat, after jolting all night and tried to gnaw some of my hard bread for breakfast. I could not help but wish for a cup of your coffee at home.[81]

Yet, despite the physical discomfort of his accommodations, Allen noted the friendliness of the civilian population as they passed:

> Men, women and children came rushing to the cars at every station cheering us as we past, perfect confusion all day long. . . I tell you we were hailed with shouts of joy, the women came out and brought us water, everybody has so far been very kind to us.[82]

On October 15, 1862, the 77th, 97th, 108th and 112th Illinois Volunteer Infantries were formed into a temporary brigade commanded by Colonel John Coburn of the 33rd Indiana. Colonel Coburn received orders to be ready to march, and forty rounds of ammunition and five days rations were drawn for each man. At noon on October 17th, the forward march began.[83] Private William Bentley described the load they carried:

> We had to carry our blankets, clothing, etc., our haversack with two days' rations, canteen, gun and cartridge-box, the latter containing forty rounds of ammunition, and the whole weighing about sixty pounds.[84]

The division marched from Covington, Kentucky on October 17th and, after being caught in a rare October snowstorm, arrived at Lexington on October 29th.[85] Daniel Allen, whose strong religious and moral views would be well documented in his journal and letters to home, described his disgust for marching on the Sabbath in a letter to his wife:

> Orders came for us to leave there at 5 o'clock Sunday morning, why we were ordered to start on Sunday I cannot see, only it is the very best way our officers could take to show their contempt for the Sabbath Day. So I had to crawl out at 3 o'clock in the morning, call out the drummers to Reveille, found the snow six inches deep, and the wind as cold as Greenland.[86]

The following day, the division marched on to Richmond, where it arrived on November 2nd. Two months earlier (August 29-30), the Battle of Richmond had been fought, and William Wiley noted that "quite a number of wounded both union and rebel [were still] left in the hospital there." Here, the division remained for several days, enjoying "a beautiful camping ground, light duties and delightful weather." [87]

Noted in the diaries of Bentley, Wiley, and Allen was the fact that throughout their march through Kentucky, escaped slaves would follow the regiment in ever increasing numbers. As William Bentley described:

> Whenever an 'American citizen of African descent' made his appearance, he was ordered to 'fall in,' which was done in most instances without reluctance. In this manner he was enticed away from his legal owner — legal according to the laws of the State, but not legal according to our notions. . . At all events we had quite a regiment of darkies following in our wake, like a troop of boys following an organ grinder.[88]

This tendency to attract escaped slaves was met with a variety of opinions. As Bentley described, some soldiers encouraged this practice, while others actively sought to catch the black runaways and send them on their way. To some in the Union ranks, the 77th Illinois had

the reputation of an “abolition regiment.” On November 14, Daniel Allen described an order by Division commander Brigadier General A. J. Smith:

> In the evening an order came from General Smith to turn all the negroes out of our regiment. There were 30 or 40 who had come in since we were in Kentucky. Some of the soldiers and even some of the officers were very indignant at this order, and made some threats about it.[89]

William Wiley added,

> When the word came to the regiment it raised quite an excitement. Our abolition blood got up and the colonel wanted to march back and retake them but the brigade commander [Stephen Burbridge] wouldn’t allow him to.[90]

No fighting took place during their sojourn into Kentucky, since there were no enemy forces in the state at the time. Samuel Kirkman’s first military campaign of the war turned out to be a march of about 150 miles into the interior of the state and back again. On their return trip, the 77th Illinois marched out of Richmond on November 11th, passed through Frankfort on November 14th and arrived at Louisville on November 17th.[91]

Despite the fact that no fighting had yet occurred, Musician Daniel Allen felt homesick and deprived, and in a letter to home, he confessed,

> I knew but little what the poor soldier had to endure when I was at home, and I never should have had any idea, had I been contented to stay at home in peace and safety, while others were deprived of the luxuries of a pleasant home. . . Oh my God, when shall I be delivered from witnessing such scenes as I am obliged to witness every day.[92]

On November 20th, the regiment marched to Portland and boarded the steamer *Starlight*, bound for Memphis, Tennessee.[93] The river trip was not without its own dangers, as described by William Wiley:

> We started down the Ohio River the guerillas and bushwackers being very troublesome along the river. We traveled by daylight and tied up and throwed out pickets at night. Their scheme was to shoot the pilots and let the boats run ashore and try to capture them. To prevent that they had to have all the pilots houses lined with heavy boiler iron, a half circle of it on each side of the pilot house.[94]

The steamboat took the division down the Ohio River and arrived in Memphis on November 27th. There it remained until late December, when it was pressed into service for the Union’s first assault on Vicksburg, Mississippi.[95]

While in Memphis, Daniel Allen wrote a lengthy letter to his wife in which he described the various diseases that had begun afflicting his fellow soldiers and replied to his wife’s earlier letter by providing instructions on various business and financial matters. He also commented about the common army practice of stealing and plundering from local residents, and he specifically mentioned Samuel’s Company K:

> You say the Company K boys boasts of living high, I am aware that they live pretty well. But I tell you that I am contented to live honest, for I will not steal as long as I can get a hard cracker to eat. I did not come to the Army to steal as some others did but I am bound to keep myself from all the vicious habits that surround me here.[96]

In a subsequent letter to home, Daniel Allen sounded distraught and isolated from his fellow Union soldiers:

> Oh, my God, I often ask myself the question, can I be among men, or those who profess any degree of civilization! Where is that morality which has been taught by the Savior. Surely none of it is practiced, and it is growing worse every day. I feel I am almost entirely alone, they seem to shun me as they would the pestilence because I am so much opposed to their wickedness, and I try to show them that I will be a Christian soldier.[97]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF CHICKASAW BAYOU

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 13th Army Corps (Brigadier General George Washington Morgan) — Right Wing of Union Army (Major General William Tecumseh Sherman).[98]

President Abraham Lincoln understood the importance of the Mississippi River. Lincoln had twice followed the Mississippi River past Vicksburg in his youth as a flatboatman, and now he asserted to his commanders that "Vicksburg is the key. The war can never be brought to a close until the key is in our pocket." [99] Union victory, he and others thought, would not be possible unless the North could seize and control this mighty river and cut the Confederacy in two. In the spring of 1862, a Union naval force of twenty-four ships, under the command of David Farragut, slipped past the rebel forts at the mouth of the Mississippi under cover of darkness, defeated a makeshift squadron of Confederate ships, and forced the surrender of New Orleans. It was a major Union victory and transformed Farragut into a national hero. Confederate President Jefferson Davis remarked that Vicksburg, Mississippi was now "the nailhead that holds the South's two halves together." [100]

The ever-ambitious political general from Illinois, John McClernand, who had been relegated to a subordinate position since the reorganization of the Union army following the Battle of Shiloh, wanted to command his own army that would capture Vicksburg and secure his place in history. In September of 1862, he submitted a long proposal to President Lincoln that detailed such a proposal. A month later, Lincoln ordered that McClernand could initiate plans to raise an army, organize those troops, and proceed against Vicksburg. McClernand believed he had received from Lincoln an independent command that would report only to the President, but in fact he was only given permission to command an expedition against Vicksburg, subject to the approval of his superiors. Strangely, neither Grant nor Halleck were ever informed of these orders, but they soon found out about McClernand's plans as he began to undertake the logistics of his expedition.[101]

In his book *Major General John Alexander McClernand: Politician in Uniform*, Richard Kiper suggests that when news of McClernand's plans reached the Union's western commanders (i.e. Grant, Halleck, Sherman and Admiral Porter), they conspired to prevent or delay his Vicksburg expedition. None of these Union commanders thought much of McClernand (or any of the other politically-appointed generals, for that matter) and, in the end, they successfully thwarted McClernand's Vicksburg assault by launching their own.[102]

On December 8, 1862, Ulysses Grant wrote to Sherman about the campaign for Vicksburg:

> On your arrival at Memphis, you will assume command of all the troops there ... and organize them into brigades and divisions in your own army. As soon as possible, move with them down the river to the vicinity of Vicksburg, and with the cooperation of the gunboat fleet under command of Flag Officer Porter proceed to the reduction of that place in such manner as circumstances, and your own judgement, may dictate.[103]

To "take the key of Vicksburg," Grant selected Sherman. Grant trusted Sherman — both had been born in Ohio and both had graduated from West Point (Sherman in 1840 and Grant in 1843).[104] Their trust in one another would only increase as the war progressed. Fifteen months later, Grant would give Sherman command in the west as he traveled east to assume overall command of the entire Union army.

In preparation for the Vicksburg Campaign, Samuel Kirkman's division was reorganized in Memphis and reported for duty to General Sherman, to whom it appeared in grand review on November 27th.[105] As a result of this reorganization, Samuel's Company K of the 77th Illinois regiment was now part of the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division of the 13th Army Corps.[106]

On December 20, 1862, the 77th Illinois, forming a part of Sherman's Army, boarded the steamer *Duke of Argyle* and, early the following day, proceeded down the Mississippi River.[107] William Wiley commented about the Union fleet that they were now a part of:

> Having all aboard by 2 p.m., we started down the Mississippi River with flags flying, bands playing and the men cheering. Our fleet of gunboats and transports, some 75 or 80 in all made an imposing sight as we floated down the river.[108]

The following day, they reached the small town of Friars Point, Mississippi. A number of Union soldiers left the boats and went into town, where it was reported to them that the citizens of the town had recently captured some Union soldiers, nailed them up in sugar hogsheads and rolled them into the river. In retaliation for this, the Union soldiers raided the stores in town and set fire to a number of buildings before their superior officers could put a stop to their actions.[109] Daniel Allen, who had left the transport boat to draw a sketch of the impressive Union fleet, noticed the black smoke rising from the town. In his journal, he wrote of "a great many soldiers gathering around, and [the town] was set on fire by them, probably for the purpose of plunder." [110] Private Allen may not have known about the rumor that had precipitated the soldiers' anger, for his next letter to his wife and sister openly questioned the cause that he was fighting for:

> Alas, alas, how long am I doomed to witness such scenes, will a cause conducted in this brutal way be successful[?] I do firmly believe that the Lord of Hosts has abandoned our cause, and given up this once happy nation to destruction, and will bring this cruel, this brutal war, to rest upon the heads of these blood thirsty northern abolitionists, who will be satisfied with nothing but fire and the sword. I am discouraged; disgusted with men who have left helpless families at home, go in for destroying even the houses, and burning them over the heads of helpless women and children, after everything else they possess has been carried off. But what business is all of this to me, I am a soldier now, but I still have a heart that can feel, and I trust I can yet tell the difference between right and wrong, although I entirely cut off from civilized life, and from all the refinements of society.[111]

Each day, the Union fleet moved deeper into the South. After passing Halls Point and Gaines' Landing (which the Union army also set fire to), the soldiers of the 77th Illinois spent their first Christmas in the army at Milliken's Bend, just a dozen or so miles from Vicksburg.[112] Christmas of 1862, however, was anything but restful. The men of the 77th Illinois were marched 37 miles to Dallas, Louisiana, where they tore up Confederate railroad tracks and set fire to the depot and several warehouses filled with corn and cotton.[113]

On December 27th, the army landed 10 miles from the mouth of the Yazoo River, near Chickasaw Bayou. It was here that, 84 days after leaving Peoria, the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry participated in its first battle — the Battle of Chickasaw Bayou.

Chickasaw Bayou, which would also be referred to as Chickasaw Bluffs or Chickasaw Swamp, was a low, wet swamp off the Yazoo River north of Vicksburg. The Union's plan was to advance through the bayou and defeat whatever enemy forces they encountered there en route to Vicksburg. Unfortunately for them, the bayou was filled with fallen trees, logs, and vines that made it very difficult to advance. More importantly, the Confederates had established a strong defensive position atop the bluffs.[114]

The Union army at Sherman's command was approximately 32,000 strong.[115] The placement of Union troops (from left to right) was as follows: 4th Division (commanded by Brigadier General Frederick Steele), 3rd Division (commanded by Brigadier General George

Washington Morgan), 2nd Division (commanded by Colonel Morgan Lewis Smith) and 1st Division (commanded by Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith). It was within the 1st Division, near the extreme right of the Union line that Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois was stationed. Had Job Benjamin not deserted 4½ months earlier, he would have been positioned on the opposite flank of the Union army, in Steele's 4th Division.[116]

Shortly after daybreak on December 28th, the Union army was marched forward about six or seven miles toward the "roar of the cannons." About a mile short of the rebel positions, the soldiers of the 77th Illinois were halted for a few moments.[117] William Wiley described the feelings of many a soldier who were about to encounter their first taste of battle:

> About daylight we were on the extreme right of the Union line. Our right resting on the Mississippi River. The troops on our left having encountered the rebel out works. The battle being meanest in that direction. This being our first introduction to Johnny Reb and the smoke and music of the battle. We felt strange sensations crawling up our backs and out to the ends of our hairs.[118]

After a brief pause, the 77th Illinois was sent forward as skirmishers. As they advanced through the difficult terrain, they soon encountered hostile fire from Confederate pickets.[119] In their regimental history, Major John A. Bering and Captain Thomas Montgomery of the 48th Ohio Volunteer Infantry described the advance they made alongside the 77th Illinois:

> . . . we soon reached the skirmish line of the 77th Ills. We then advanced with them in line of battle, through a dense forest of live-oak and cypress, covered with Spanish moss. We drove the enemy's pickets about a mile, when we came in sight of their fortifications, situated on a high hill, in front of which they had cut down the timber.[120]

Daniel Allen of the 77th Illinois, who along with the other musicians and hospital attendants, were kept toward the rear to take care of the wounded, described the advance in his journal:

> Proceeded about ½ mile through the woods when we were fired upon right and left. Soon came where the road was blocked up by fallen trees, got through the woods, came in sight of a hill on the top of which were rebel batteries, made a halt to reconnoiter. One of the rebel pickets was killed and 2 others wounded in the skirmish. We waited some two or three hours and stood in plain sight of the rebels, expecting they would fire on us from the fort.[121]

William Wiley of the 77th Illinois described this same encounter:

> We drove the rebel outpost into their entrenchments and took position a short distance from their works which we held until night. The rebs making it pretty hot for us as they rained their shot and shell around us in a very careless manner cutting the tree tops off over our heads and shot and pieced of shell barking the trees all around us. We held our ground until night when we fell back about half a mile where we lay on our arms until morning.[122]

On December 27th and 28th, the Union army had skirmished with the enemy as they reconnoitered the enemy positions. It was clear to Sherman that A.J. Smith's Division would not be able to cross the bayou because of the heavy fire that could be directed upon them from the enemy fortifications immediately in front of them. There were only two locations that Sherman deemed passable, both facing dry sandbars. One was in front of Morgan's Division and the other was in front of M.L. Smith's Division. Both of these assault points were to the left of the 77th Illinois' position.[123]

Sherman's strategy for taking Chickasaw Bayou was to first begin a diversionary attack from either Union flank, broaden this attack along the entire Union line, and then break across the bayou at the two designated points and establish a foothold on the foothills and bluffs. Sherman estimated the enemy's number at 15,000.[124] The plan changed, however, when General Morgan L. Smith was shot in the hip and relieved of command. The loss of Smith prompted Sherman to shift overall command of the planned southern crossing point to General A.J. Smith (division commander for the 77th Illinois).[125]

On December 29, 1862, the troops were readied for the assault. Sherman described the assault:

> At about noon, I gave the orders and signal for the main attack [to begin]. A heavy artillery fire opened along our whole line, and was replied to by the rebel batteries, and soon the infantry line opened heavily, especially on A.J. Smith's front.[126]

Three brigades from three different divisions fought their way across the difficult terrain under murderous enemy fire. Samuel Kirkman's brigade remained with the main force. Positioned at the extreme right of the Union army, the 77th Illinois experienced little more than sporadic fire and shelling, as described by Daniel Allen:

> Our regiment lay flat on the ground, watching every move, and as often as a rebel showed himself they fired at him, and thus they lay all afternoon. Every now and then a shell would come whizzing by our heads.[127]

But the real action that day was on the left and center of the Union line, far from the 77th Illinois' position. While Union artillery was rendered nearly useless by the terrain, rebel gunners were able to fire from the bluffs overhead.[128] Some of the Union soldiers successfully crossed the bayou and took position within lodgments of the bluff directly below the enemy. Others who had successfully crossed the bayou scooped out makeshift caves in the muddy bank for protection.[129] Despite these isolated successes, Union reinforcements could not reach these lodgments, and the overall assault failed.[130] Sherman admitted, "our loss had been pretty heavy, and we had accomplished nothing, and had inflicted little loss on our enemy." [131]

Sherman's plan to coordinate another land assault, supported this time by Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet, was thwarted by dense fog on December 31st. Confederate reinforcements arrived the next day, further strengthening the rebel defenses. Reluctantly, Sherman abandoned his attempt to take Chickasaw Bayou.[132] Historian Victor Hicken summed up the campaign:

> The story of the attack at Chickasaw Bayou is a sad one, indeed, and one for which there was little excuse. Hurriedly planned and carried out in a disorganized fashion, the three-day movement ended in defeat ... On December 29th, the day was filled with error and tragedy. The attack was poorly timed and uncoordinated, regiments lost their brigade commanders, and there was poor artillery support ... Nothing was gained, and the Federal losses for the three-day affair were 1,776 in killed, wounded and missing.[133]

After four days of fighting, the first Union attempt to capture the city of Vicksburg was abandoned, and the army embarked on their boats and proceeded ten miles upriver to Milliken's Bend, Louisiana.[134] The year 1862 ended with Samuel Kirkman at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana "to rest or to make preparations for conquest in some other direction." [135]

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1863 (Part I)

GENERAL MCCLERNAND ASSUMES COMMAND

In his book *Major General John Alexander McClernand: Politician in Uniform*, Richard Kiper suggested that the principal Union commanders in the western theater — Henry Wager Halleck, Grant, Sherman, and Admiral David Dixon Porter — employed a series of delaying tactics in the last two months of 1862 to keep Illinois' "political general" McClernand from assuming command of an army to capture Vicksburg. By the time McClernand finally received his orders (on December 23, 1862) and arrived in Memphis (on December 30th), the entire force he had recruited had gone ahead to attack Vicksburg without him.[1] A frustrated and angry McClernand wrote his friend Abraham Lincoln,

> Either accident or intention has so conspired to thwart the authority of yourself and the Secretary of War and to betry me, but with your support I shall not despair overcoming both.[2]

The subsequent defeat at Chickasaw Bayou forced the Union army to retreat north along the Mississippi River and regroup. On January 2, 1863, Union boats began transporting the army upriver, where they procured wood from a number of sources,[3] with one such "procurement" described by Daniel Allen:

> We landed about sundown to get wood, they tied up near a splendid plantation, and loaded all the rails for wood, one whole company was detailed to bring the rails on board, and while they were tearing down the fence, others were pillaging the buildings close by, and after stealing everything they could carry off they set fire to a large cotton building with considerable cotton in it, and burned it down.[4]

Such procurements, which Private Allen described as barbaric in his journal, were quite common in the Union army. In the regimental history of the 48th Ohio, John Bering and Thomas Montgomery describe a typical "foraging party:"

> . . . Foraging parties, or perhaps better known as "bummers," were sent out daily to procure all the provisions and forage that was required for the army. They left camp every morning, in advance of the infantry, and a curious sight they were to behold, as they galloped by at full speed, mounted on such "critters" as they could gather up on their expeditions. They were dressed in such clothes as suited their fancy — the Union blue, the rebel gray and butternut, with a considerable number in citizens' attire.
>
> They were a jolly, mischievous set, eager and ready for any adventure. No sooner were they beyond the lines than they began their work. They slaughtered the pigs in the pens; the cattle and horses were driven from the fields; smokehouses and cellars were ransacked for flour, meal and bacon; the chickens and turkeys were captured in the yard; the mules were hitched to the family carriage, and the provisions stowed away in it, when it was driven to the next plantation, where the same ceremony was repeated. Toward evening the foragers returned to camp, driving the cattle before them, followed by a long line of vehicles of every description, loaded with all kinds of provisions, which was equally distributed among the different regiments.[5]

With the end of the offensive campaign against Vicksburg, Union generals could no longer ignore the War Department's October 21st orders giving McClernand command of these same forces. On January 4, 1863, General McClernand assumed command of what he now called the Army of the Mississippi.[6]

McClernand organized his Army of the Mississippi into two Corps — the 1st and 2nd. Brigadier General George Washington Morgan commanded the 1st Corps (which contained the 77th Illinois) and Major General William Tecumseh Sherman commanded the 2nd Corps.[7]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF ARKANSAS POST

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 1st Army Corps (Brigadier General George Washington Morgan) — Army of the Mississippi (Brigadier General John Alexander McClernand).[8]

Fort Hindman, or Arkansas Post, was built as a trading post in 1686 by the French, ceded to the Spanish in 1765, was the site of a minor battle in the American Revolutionary War in 1783, and was a frontier settlement in the early 1800's. Arkansas Post was already a historic place when the Confederates, realizing its strategic location, built Fort Hindman there in 1862.[9]

In late December of 1862, the Confederate commander of Fort Hindman, Thomas Churchill, began to station pickets at the junction of the Arkansas and White Rivers and (just a few miles downstream) at the junction of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers. Now armed with "eyes and ears," he received continuous reports of Union traffic along these strategic waterways. On December 29th, the very day of the main assault at Chickasaw Bayou, an unarmed Union transport towing two coal barges laden with ammunition was forced to beach and surrender to rebel guerrillas near the mouth of the White River.[10] Clearly, Fort Hindman was becoming more of a threat to Union interests.

On January 3, 1863, McClernand met with Sherman and Admiral Porter in a meeting that Richard Kiper described "as stormy as the weather." In an atmosphere ripe with disharmony, the three men discussed the possibility of an offensive strike upon the fort at Arkansas Post.[11] In his memoirs, Sherman recalled the discussion:

> Knowing full well that we could not carry on operations against Vicksburg as long as the rebels held the Post of Arkansas, [from which] they could attack our boats coming and going [in] convoy, [I suggested] that we go up and clear out the Post.[12]

McClernand, anxious to achieve a quick victory to raise the spirits of the troops and obtain glory for himself, agreed to the idea. Admiral Porter, who, like Sherman, personally disliked McClernand, agreed to assist in the operation.[13]

On January 5, 1863, McClernand's Army of the Mississippi left Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, and sailed up the Mississippi River to the Arkansas River. McClernand's army consisted of 30,000 men, 50 transports and 13 gunboats commanded by Admiral David Porter.[14]

Historian Victor Hicken describes their objective (Fort Hindman or Arkansas Post) as follows:

> [It was] a square solid establishment, somewhat on the order of Fort Donelson, and stood at the bend of the Arkansas River about 50 miles from its juncture with the Mississippi River. High enough to command the surrounding countryside, it dominated the river with two 9-inch guns, an 8-inch gun, plus eight smaller guns. Trenches, more than a mile in length, defended the landward side. Inside the fort were a substantial number of defenders and a large collection of supplies.[15]

On January 10th, the army landed about three miles below Arkansas Post. The soldiers disembarked that afternoon and formed their lines for the inevitable battle the following day. Musician Daniel Allen of the 77th Illinois described these preparations in a letter to his wife:

> We landed about 2 miles below the fort, landed in the afternoon and marched through the swamp towards the fort, some of the time nearly up to our knees in mud and water, and got within about a mile of the fort, was ordered to halt and lie down and was not permitted to build a fire, and as it was a cold, chilly night I came very near to freezing.[16]

Private William Bentley also recalled the night before battle: “We slept on our arms and waited for the dawn, expecting to wake the echoes of the morning with the roar of battle.” [17]

“[The next day] was the Sabbath,” Private Bentley remembered, “clear, calm and beautiful. It was a day made for rest and the worship of God, and not for human slaughter ... The morning wore away — the sun rose high and passed the meridian.” [18] The soldiers of Colonel William Jennings Landram's 2nd Brigade — his own 19th Kentucky, the 97th Illinois, the 77th Illinois, the 108th Illinois and the 48th Ohio — waited in a large cleared field north of the fort.[19] (See Figure 12).

At about 1:30 p.m., cannons and gunboats began firing upon the fort.[20] The Battle of Arkansas Post had begun. As Private Bentley observed:

> Union artillery joined the [gunboat] cannonade with a brilliantly aimed barrage, and Sherman, who commanded the ground forces, moved the infantry to within 100 yards of the enemy works. The coordination of the entire movement was extremely smooth.[21]

Fighting alongside Private Bentley's Company I was Private Kirkman’s Company K. With the rest of their 77th Illinois regiment, they were positioned on the left wing of the Union Army, the side nearest the Arkansas River and Fort Hindman.[22] Had Job Benjamin not deserted five months earlier, he would have been positioned on the opposite flank of the Union army, in Frederick Steele’s 1st Division of the 15th Army Corps.[23]

Shortly after 3 p.m., McClernand ordered the land assault of Arkansas Post to begin.[24] At the beginning of the battle, the 77th Illinois was held in reserve about 200 yards behind the 19th Kentucky, with orders to maintain that distance as the line of troops moved forward. Musician Daniel Allen described the uneasy wait they endured:

> Every few minutes the shells would come whistling over our heads among the tree tops, and the cannon makes my hand snap while I write. Just this moment heard a sharp volley of musketry.[25]

Shortly thereafter, the 77th Illinois was ordered to move to the right and take position behind the 83rd Ohio. Private Bentley remembered:

> We had been there but a short time when an order came from our brigade commander to go in. And then we heard the well-known, clear, ringing voice of Colonel Grier commanding, “Seventy-seventh, forward, guide center, march.” Every man sprang to his feet and with loud cheers and yells of defiance, rushed forward. The 83rd [Ohio] refused to advance, and we were compelled to charge over them in the face of a terrible fire from the fort... We took position about eighty yards in advance of them. Here we fired about 20 rounds, when Colonel Grier ordered another advance. We moved forward about fifty yards further, when we were considerably in advance of any other regiment in the division, and within easy pistol range of the works. It was here that we sustained our heaviest loss.[26]

Musician Daniel Allen describes what happened to him during this stage of battle:

> Our regiment was ordered to advance. They started off on a double quick. I jumped up to follow, and was just going to jump across a small stream when a shell struck on the bank about 3 feet ahead of me, throwing the dirt in my eyes making me entirely blind for a moment and turning me completely around. It was some little time before I could tell which way the regiment had gone. After I got over the shock a little I inquired the direction of our regiment, had proceeded a short distance when I met 2 men bringing in a wounded man on a litter, and as they were about tired out I put him on board. Turned around and went back and soon came to Captain Irvin, a Capt. of our regiment, he was wounded in the neck and shot through the knee. He begged for some brandy I went to a doctor close up and got a little.[27]

It was probably during this same interval of heavy enemy fire that Samuel received his proverbial “red badge of courage” — a gunshot wound to the arm. According to him, the ball passed through his right arm about half way between his elbow and shoulder. He was not

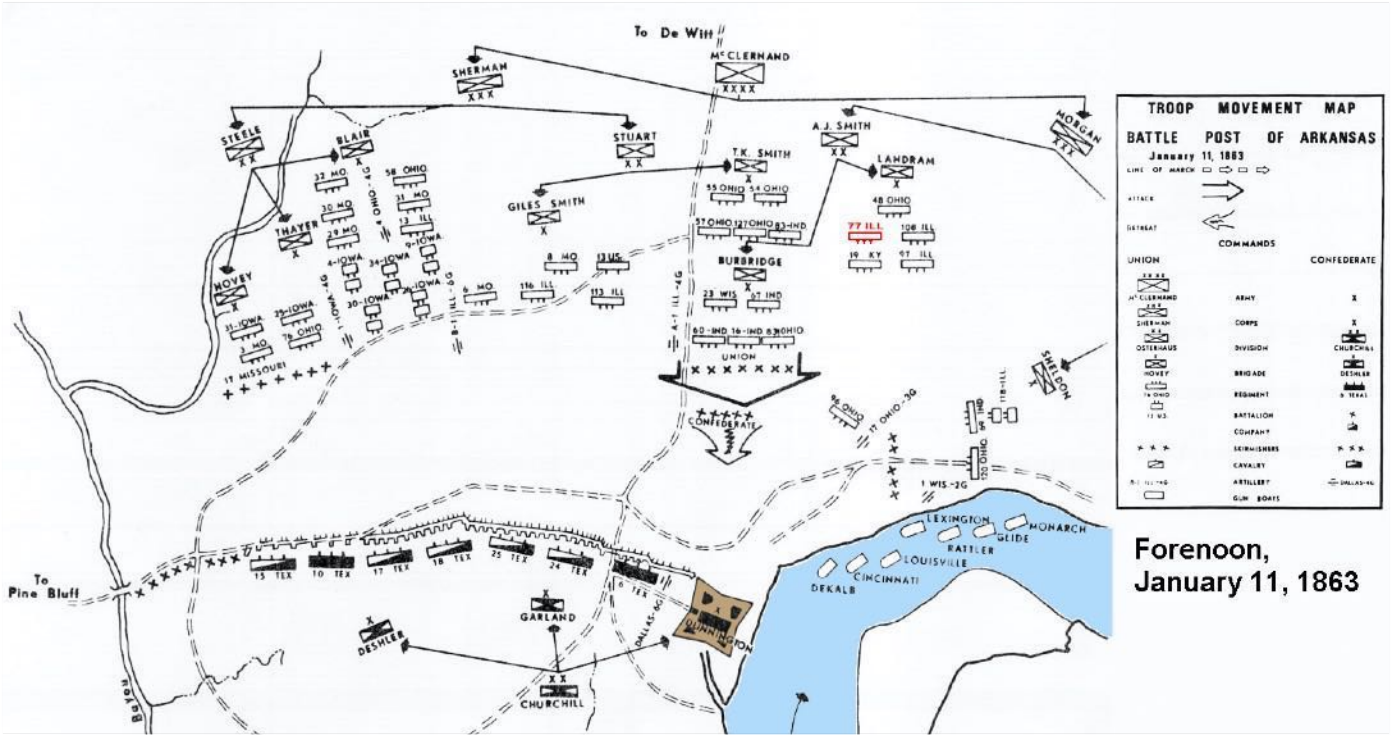

Figure 12: The morning position of the 77th Illinois (in red) within Landram's Brigade.
(Courtesy National Park Service, Edwin C. Bearss' Troop Movement Map — Battle of Arkansas Post, Forenoon, January 11, 1863, 1971. Special Thanks to Brian K. McCutchen, Historian, Arkansas Post National Memorial).

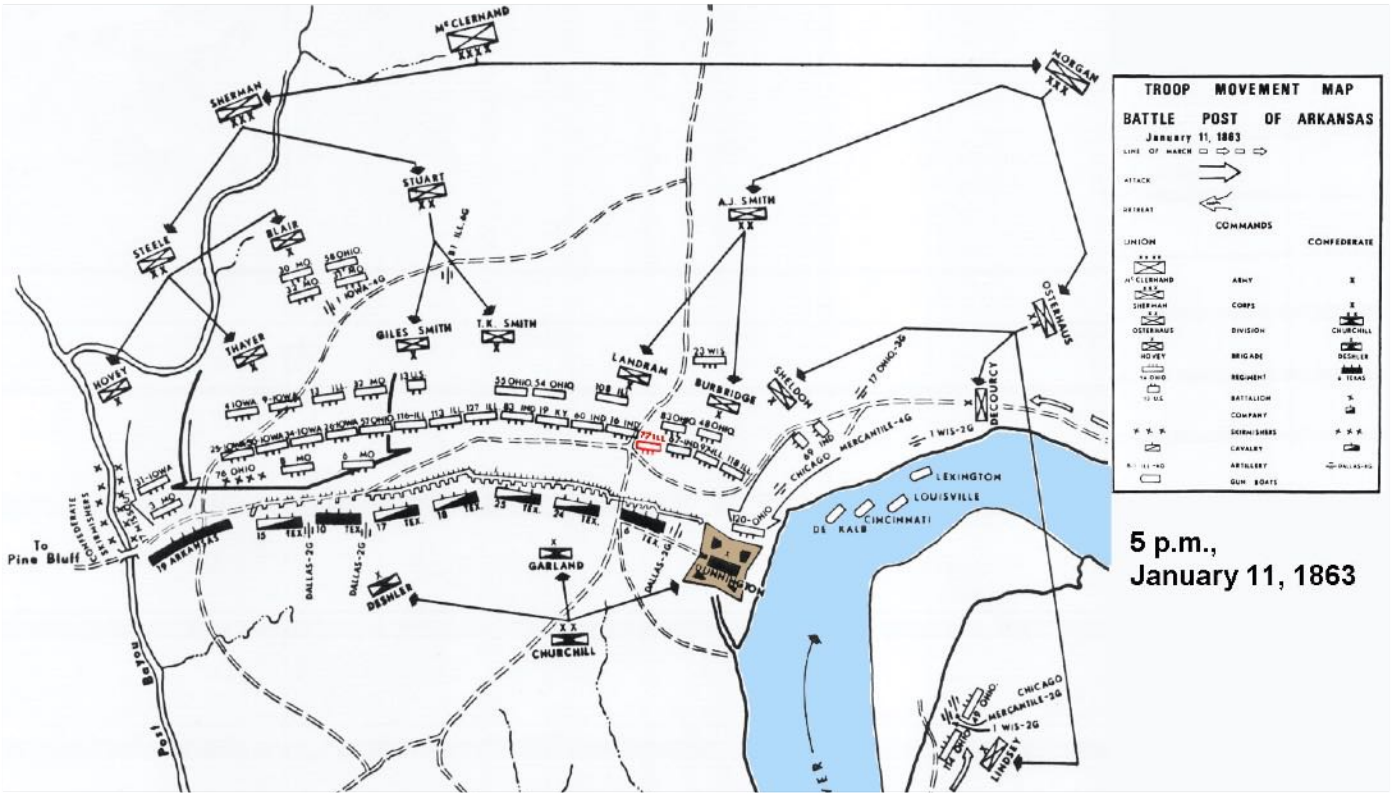

Figure 13: The 5 p.m. position of the 77th Illinois (in red) near Fort Hindman.
(Courtesy National Park Service, Edwin C. Bearss' Troop Movement Map — Battle of Arkansas Post, 5 p.m., January 11, 1863, 1971. Special Thanks to Brian K. McCutchen, Historian, Arkansas Post National Memorial).

immediately treated, probably because of the difficulty in getting him to an army hospital. This situation was not uncommon in the early years of the war, as described by Historian Bell Irvin Wiley:

> In early engagements, the wounded often had to get to hospitals under their own power or lie for long periods without [relief] ... During the war's first years, hospitals were crowded, poorly run, ill equipped, dirty dens of butchery and horror.[28]

Regimental records indicate that Samuel was "wounded slightly in the arm." (See Figure 14). It also reported that he was absent from the January 20th roll call, having been on the hospital boat since shortly after the battle.[29] Years later, he maintained that his war injury prevented him from doing heavy farm work.

Private William Bentley of Company I, who would publish the regimental history of the 77th Illinois twenty years later, noted that he, too, had been injured in battle. Also injured was **Jacob LaFollette**, the older of the LaFollette brothers and one of my ancestral soldiers.[30]

By 5 p.m., the 77th Illinois was positioned with three other regiments (the 67th Indiana, the 97th Illinois, and the 118th Illinois) in a line directly in front of Fort Hindman. (See Figure 13). Behind entrenched rifle pits extending from the fort away from the river, enemy regiments fought to stop or slow the Union advance. The 6th Texas Infantry was positioned directly across from the 77th Illinois and was likely the source of the minie ball that struck Kirkman.[31]

Despite all this, there was never any question about the outcome of the battle. McClernand's troops numbered over 30,000. Confederate forces, under the command of General Thomas James Churchill, numbered only 5,000.[32] William Wiley, who was gravely ill with malaria and therefore missed the battle, described the final stages of the battle from accounts given to him by his comrades in arms:

> Our color bearer, John Hornbaker being knocked down by a piece of a rebel shell, Lieutentant Jenkins of Co C grabbed up the flag and ran for the rebel fort and planted it upon their works just as the rebs ran up the white flag and the 77 scaled the rebel fort and was the first to enter the fort and was given the post of honor to guard the fort and prisoners.[33]

Despite a valiant struggle, Fort Hindman surrendered to Union troops at about 5 p.m.[34] Credit was bestowed upon a number of Union regiments, particularly the 16th Indiana and 83rd Ohio regiments. The 77th Illinois, positioned adjacent to these two regiments in General William J. Landram's Brigade, was also given a great deal of credit by Landram after the battle, as follows:

> It is with pride that I mention the names of Colonel John Warner of the 108th [Illinois] Colonel D.P. Grier of the 77th [Illinois], and Colonel F.S. Rutherford of the 97th [Illinois] ... The loss sustained by the 108th and 97th was not very great considering the destructive fire of the enemy's artillery and infantry. The chief loss was in that of the 77th (Col. Grier), the killed and wounded in that Regiment numbering 45 men.[35]

The valor of the 77th Illinois was also noticed by their division commander, General A.J. Smith, who, in the words of Private Bentley, "could have conferred no greater compliment on the 77th [Illinois] when he placed Colonel Grier and his regiment in charge of the captured works." Private Bentley continued:

> When the white flag went up, the 77th went down the ditch and over into the fortifications with a rush. We claim to have been the first Regiment that entered the fort, and the first to raise our flag over the captured works.[36]

As explained by Terrence Winschel, editor of *The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier*, this was an important point:

K | 77 | Ills.

Samuel Kirkman

Rank Pvt., Co. K, 77 Reg't Ills. Infty.

Appears on **List of Casualties** of the Regiment

at the battle of

Killed ....., 186 .

Wounded January 11, 1863 .

Missing ....., 186 .

Seat of injury: arm

Nature of injury: slight

Missile:

Treatment:

Result and date:

Remarks:

Reported by W. A. Woodruff, Actg. Adjt. 77 Ills. Infty.

Casualty List No. 295, Page

Dear

(289) Copyist

Figure 14: A copy of Samuel Kirkman's Casualty Report for the "slight" injury to his arm sustained during the January 11, 1863 battle of Arkansas Post. From the National Archives.

"A." *Wounded*—Privates John Anderson, Henry D. Hester, Cyrus A. Kroessen, Lester T. Stone, John Tompkins (*mortally*), Daniel B. Trench (*mortally*), A. D. Witherell.

"B." *Killed*—Captain Robert Irwin.
Wounded—Privates James Malone, Lewis E. Simpson, Edward Swargy (*mortally*).

"C." *Wounded*—Sergeant John S. Hornbaker, color bearer. Privates Samuel T. Acres, Joseph T. Sims.

"D." *Wounded*—Privates Thomas Davis, Daniel Fowler, Frederick Kraft.

"E." *Killed*—Private John H. McIntyre.
Wounded—Corporal R. McKee Davis, Private Edward H. Laughlin (*mortally*).

"F." *Wounded*—First Lieutenant William O. Hammers. Privates Thomas J. Ewing, Nelson E. Johnson, Hosea Johnson, James M. West.

"G." *Killed*—Private Eleazer Barnell.
Wounded—Corporal Hugh Smart (*mortally*). Privates Francis O. Dimmick, Joseph D. Ensley.

"H." *Wounded*—Corporal David Filger. Privates Edward L. Sutton (*mortally*), Joseph Standaker (*mortally*).

"I." *Wounded*—Private William H. Bentley.

"K." *Killed*—Privates Joseph M. King, Peter Nelson.
Wounded—Privates Jacob Lafollett, William Thorp, John Ibeck, Samuel Kirkman, Robert Thompson.

Figure 15: Within the ranks of the 77th Illinois, those injured at the Battle of Arkansas Post included their future regimental historian (William H. Bentley) and the author's great-great grandfather (Samuel Kirkman). From page 191 of Bentley's regimental history.

> Several regiments claim the honor of being the first to scale the parapets and plant their colors on the fort. The fact that the 77th was given the post of honor to guard the fort and prisoners lends credence to the claim made here by Wiley on behalf of the regiment.[37]

During the Battle of Arkansas Post, the Union army sustained casualties of 1,061, of which 161 were dead and 900 were wounded.[38] The six regiments making up Colonel Landram's Brigade suffered 9 dead and 76 wounded. The 77th Illinois suffered 6 killed and 39 wounded, or more than half of the brigade's losses.[39] (See Figure 15). Upon entering the fort, Union soldiers came upon a terrible site, as described by William Wiley:

> The ground was literally covered with dead men and horses all cut to pieces and strewn in every direction where our gun boats and batteries and done their deadly work.[40]

The men of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry had at last "seen the elephant," an expression of the day that meant actual combat experience. Private William Bentley recalled the aftermath of battle:

> Having fought and won the battle, the next thing in order was to secure the fruits of the victory. This was done by securing the arms and munitions of war which fell into our hands, by sending the prisoners north for safe keeping, and destroying the works so that they could be of no further use to the rebels.[41]

Rebel prisoners, including General Churchill, were loaded onto boats the same night as the battle and left for St. Louis on January 12th.[42]

After January 12, 1863, McClernand's Army of the Mississippi ceased to exist, Morgan's 1st Corps (including the 77th Illinois) became known as the 13th Corps and Sherman's 2nd Corps became known as the 15th Corps.[43] On January 14th, most regiments that had fought at Arkansas Post (including Samuel's) boarded boats and proceeded downriver to Young's Point, Louisiana, arriving there on January 22nd.[44] As Terrence Winschel noted in his book *The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier*,

> The camps in Louisiana were situated along the levees to escape the flood water of the Mississippi River. Cleanliness and sanitation were impossible; the men lived in a vast sea of mud. Freezing rains added to the sufferings of the troops, who sickened and died by the hundreds.[45]

Private William Bentley remembered there encampment there:

> We were a short distance above, and in full view of the rebel stronghold — Vicksburg. Our encampment was in a beautiful mudhole just inside the levee, protected from the rising waters of the Mississippi by that expensive but necessary work of art.[46]

Soon after the troops landed at Young's Point, Grant made his appearance there and assumed command. His first orders were to resume work on a canal that had been attempted one time before — a canal that would divert the flow of the Mississippi River around Vicksburg so Union gunboats could travel unmolested around the Confederate stronghold. The 77th Illinois was engaged in this activity, which took a tremendous toll in sickness and morale. At one point, over half of the regiment was unable to report for duty because of illness.[47] Some progress was initially made in building the Williams-Grant Canal (as it was officially known), but a sudden rise in the river caused the canal to fill with backwater and sediment. At one point, two large, steam-driven dredges were brought in, but Confederate artillery fire turned them away.[48] In the end, the canal project proved once again to be unsuccessful.

On March 7th, the paymaster made an appearance at the 77th Illinois, paying each soldier up to October 31, 1862. As a private, Samuel received about 20 dollars. Fellow private William Bentley commented, "as Uncle Sam's liabilities were greater than his resources at that time, we put up with what we could get without grumbling." [49]

On March 9th, Samuel and the 77th Illinois boarded the steamer *Hiawatha* and left for Milliken's Bend, about 20 miles upriver.[50] Musician Daniel Allen described the short trip:

> The boat started up the river about one o'clock, landed again about 3 p.m. at Milliken's Bend. The regiment formed on the levee and marched out to the camping ground, about a mile. . . Heard a heavy cannonading towards Vicksburg, did not know what it was for. Had a prospect of a rainy night, went to bed, soon after came a thunder storm and rained nearly all night.[51]

The following day, Daniel Allen continued the description in his journal:

> Did not get up till after daylight, still raining hard. Heard another soldier of our regiment died last night, was brought up with the regiment yesterday, and died before morning.[52]

In a letter to home, Daniel Allen was even more candid about the death that surrounded him:

> The more [additional soldiers] we have, the worse we are off. The more there is to die and be buried like brutes in the wet swampy ground, there are but very few men killed by the rebels to what there is that died by disease. Two men were buried yesterday, and one today out of our regiment. Some are buried without even a rough box to put them in but put in the ground and covered up like a beast.[53]

In the same letter to his wife, Daniel Allen mentioned that Capt. Stevens [probably Edwin Stevens of his own Company E] "told me he had been trying to get me discharged, I have been expecting to hear of some such thing as that." Shortly thereafter — sometime in late March of 1863 — his longstanding desire to be relieved from the anguish of war was granted. After seven months of deprivation and ill health, Daniel Allen was discharged from the Union army and sent home to Peoria.[54]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN ASSUMES NEW DUTIES AT MILLIKEN'S BEND

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 13th Army Corps (Brigadier General George Washington Morgan) — Army of the Mississippi (Brigadier General John Alexander McClernand).[55]

On March 29th, almost three weeks after their arrival, Samuel Kirkman was detailed to the Regimental Quartermaster, David McKinney of Peoria.[56] (See Figure 16). Since the Quartermaster is responsible for providing troops with quarters, clothing, and equipment, it can be assumed that Samuel was involved with one or more of these duties.[57]

On Easter Sunday (April 5th), the paymaster made another appearance and paid the regiment for four additional months. Private Kirkman received 52 dollars.[58] Records show that he was present for roll call five days later, on April 10, 1863.[59]

On three consecutive days, A.J. Smith's Division (including the 77th Illinois) was reviewed, first by Smith, then by McClernand and finally in a grand review before General Grant on April 9th. Private William Bentley could guess what these reviews meant:

> By this time we knew that these reviews meant active service, and we hailed the prospect of an advance as a harbinger of deliverance from our monotonous camp inside the levee. We began to think that before long we would conquer, or be conquered, on the other side of Vicksburg.[60]

K | 77 | Ill.

Samuel Kirkman

Priv., Co. K, 77 Reg't Illinois Infantry.

Appears on **Special Muster Roll**

for Apl 10, 186 3.

Present or absent Present

Stoppage, $ ..... 100 for .....

Due Gov't, $ ..... 100 for .....

Remarks: Detailed Assistant to Quartermaster March 29th 1863

Book mark: .....

H. D. Neale

(359) Copyist.

Figure 16: A copy of Samuel Kirkman's Special Muster Roll for April 10, 1863 which first notes his new assignment to the Regimental Quartermaster. From the National Archives.

1863 (Part II)

THE UNION STRATEGY AT VICKSBURG: AN OVERVIEW

By early 1863, the Confederacy had lost most of the Mississippi River to the advancing Union army and navy. The one remaining “stronghold of rebeldom” was Vicksburg, Mississippi. Located on a high bluff overlooking the great river, Vicksburg effectively threatened any Union vessel that tried to pass either north or south.

Vicksburg was critical to the Confederate cause in another way, for it served as the only remaining place that the western Confederate railroad joined to the eastern Confederate railroad. This railroad corridor allowed critical supplies from Texas and the Deep South to reach the war efforts in the eastern theater, where troops under General Robert E. Lee were winning impressive battles in Virginia.[1]

Rebel forces at Vicksburg were commanded by Lieutenant General John Clifford Pemberton, a West Point graduate whose Pennsylvania roots caused some in the South to question his loyalty to the Confederacy. Although Pemberton proved to be a loyal officer, he was not a particularly gifted one. In fact, some historians place much of the blame for the fall of Vicksburg on Pemberton’s “hesitant, indecisive, and uncoordinated efforts.” [2]

Pemberton was subordinate to General Joseph Eggleston Johnston, the officer in charge of all Confederate forces in the West.[3] Johnston had once commanded Confederate forces in Virginia until a serious injury in the Peninsular Campaign in May of 1862 forced him to resign his command to Robert E. Lee of Virginia — an incident that, ironically, proved immensely valuable to rebels fighting in the east.[4]

Johnston was not well liked by Confederate President Jefferson Davis, and the feeling was mutual. Their animosity grew largely out of an 1861 dispute over the proper rank of Johnston in the Confederate Army. Johnston thought he should be designated as the most senior officer in the Confederate Army. President Davis disagreed. Their poor relationship “seemed to guaranteed that any Rebel war effort in Mississippi would be a halting, confused affair.” [5] Civil War writer L.B. Northrop summarized the Union's numerous attempts to take Vicksburg:

> All through the winter of 1862-1863, [Union General Ulysses S.] Grant tried first one [strategy] and then another to get at Vicksburg ... Confederate cavalry wrecked railroads in north Mississippi and compelled Grant's army to abandon an overland campaign against Pemberton. Then the Rebels repulsed a Federal assault at Chickasaw Bluff near Vicksburg. Trying the unusual, Federals attempted to divert the Mississippi River away from Vicksburg, then were thwarted by changing water levels in the stream. Finally, Union efforts to open an all-water route through the bayous north of town were blocked by hastily built Confederate fortifications.[6]

Exacerbating the Union cause was unusually high water levels throughout the area.[7]

In late March of 1863, Grant settled on a new strategy that would prove to be the key to the lock of Vicksburg. Grant’s daring plan would march troops down the river on the Louisiana side, cross the river south of Vicksburg, and “without hope of resupply or reinforcement, come up from behind and take the town.” [8]

Pemberton, who incorrectly assumed that the movement of Grant’s army was just a diversion to draw his own forces away from Vicksburg, sent only a small army to oppose the Federal armies moving east from the Mississippi River. After Union victories at Port Gibson, Raymond, and Jackson, Grant next turned his armies due west toward Vicksburg.[9]

All this time, Johnston had urged Pemberton to move most of his army northeast, join his own army, and attack the Federals near Jackson. Pemberton ignored Johnston's wishes and, on May 15, 1863, Pemberton sent three divisions on an ill-advised and poorly coordinated attempt to strike at Grant's supply lines south and east of Vicksburg. What made this strategy particularly foolish was the fact that since Grant's army was largely living off the rich Mississippi farmland, attacking his supply lines would accomplish almost nothing.[10]

On May 16th, after muddy roads and rain had slowed the rebel advance, Pemberton received a second order to move his army northward to unite with Johnston's. Pemberton obeyed this order, but before his army could accomplish that objective, the Union army met them 20 miles west of Jackson, near a ridge called Champion Hill.[11]

After a savage one-day struggle that saw the Union Army victorious, Pemberton's army fled westward to the fortified positions at Vicksburg. The Union victory at Champion Hill kept the armies of Pemberton and Johnston from ever uniting into a powerful fighting force. And it led to the siege that would result in the surrender of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863 — just 49 days after Champion Hill.

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF PORT GIBSON

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 10th Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 13th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander McClernand) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General Ulysses Simpson Grant).[12]

In the first part of April, the entire 13th Corps marched from Milliken's Bend through the lowlands of Louisiana to a point opposite and below Grand Gulf, Mississippi. On April 30th, the corps was transported across the Mississippi River to Bruinsburg, Mississippi, and immediately moved eastward toward Port Gibson, marching late into the night and arriving there early on the morning of May 1, 1863.[13] At midnight, fighting broke out as portions of the Union line encountered Confederate positions four miles west of Port Gibson. The initial encounter lasted three hours before both sides settled down for the night.[14] Private William Bentley noted:

> There is little question why Grant gave the lead to McClernand's men. The 13th Corps consisted of old and tested regiments from Illinois and other western states. Its division and regimental commanders were among the most courageous men in the Army of the Tennessee, and had proven the fact upon the field of battle.[15]

The Battle of Port Gibson, which resumed at about 5 a.m. on May 1, 1863, was a bitter fight between 8,000 Confederate soldiers commanded by Brigadier General John Bowen and 24,000 Union soldiers commanded by Grant. The Confederates, though greatly outnumbered, knew their local topography and took full advantage of it during the battle.[16] Grant described the difficulty of the local terrain:

> In this part of Mississippi ... the hills are covered with a very heavy growth of timber and with undergrowth, and the ravines are filled with vines and canebrakes, almost impenetrable. This makes it easy for an inferior force to delay, if not defeat, a far superior one.[17]

Two battles ensued, one along the northerly Bruinsburg Road and the other along the southerly Rodney Road. McClernand sent the division of Alvin Hovey, Eugene Carr and A.J. Smith (with the 77th Illinois) on the right-hand branch and Osterhaus' division on the left-hand branch. The Centers Creek Hollow effectively separated the two assaults, making it difficult for one flank to reinforce the other without backtracking. The left branch (Osterhaus' division] felt

the greater resistance, and soon other divisions were called in as reinforcements.[18] The highly acclaimed Civil War Historian Edwin C. Bearss described the culmination of fighting:

> By now Grant was sending brigade after brigade into the Union lines. The right wing of the Confederate defenses ... [being attacked by Osterhaus' division] ... gave way, and [Confederate General] Bowen, fearing that Union columns would outflank and cut off his troops, ordered retreat.[19]

The Union side reported 131 dead, 719 wounded, and 25 missing at the Battle of Port Gibson. However, had Confederate General Bowen been properly reinforced by troops from Vicksburg, the outcome of the battle of Port Gibson might have been entirely different.[20] Landram's Brigade, which included the 77th Illinois, saw minimal action late in the day and suffered only 31 casualties, none of which were from the 77th Illinois.[21]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION HILL

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 10th Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 13th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander McClernand) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General Ulysses Simpson Grant).[22]

Knowing that Confederate reinforcements were being assembled 45 miles away in Jackson, Grant made a bold decision that would elevate him to the ranks of greatness. He planned to move his Union army between the separated wings of the rebel force and first defeat one and then the other, taking advantage of the Union army's superior position and its ability to move troops faster than the enemy could react. Grant knew that a direct attack on Vicksburg would be futile without first defeating the nearby rebel forces that could come to Pemberton's assistance. On May 12th, the Federal army of 44,000 men continued their march eastward, away from Vicksburg.[23] Private William Bentley described the surroundings:

> We had left the low, flat and swampy lands of Louisiana far behind us. New objects of interest presented themselves as we passed along. We saw the splendid mansions which, in other years, had sheltered the rich, aristocratic proprietors of the soil.[24]

He and fellow soldier Samuel Kirkman passed Rocky Springs, Cuyahoga and Auburn, and on the night of May 15th, they camped near the town of Raymond, Mississippi.[25]

On May 12th, the Union's 17th Corps under Major General James McPherson fought a lone Confederate brigade that mistakenly believed they faced a small Union force rather than an entire corps. Although the rebels initiated the Battle of Raymond with a morning attack, it was ended by a Union counterattack in the early afternoon that drove the greatly outnumbered rebels from the field.[26]

Early on the morning of May 16, 1863, the 77th Illinois was aroused from their sleep and readied for battle. At 8 o'clock, the Union army encountered the enemy at Champion Hill, approximately 20 miles west of Jackson.[27] Champion Hill is a prominent knoll, about 75 feet high, which offered the rebel forces a good position to block the Union's westward advance on Vicksburg.[28] The hill was named for the owner of the land, Sidney S. Champion, whose family lived in a house not far from the fiercest fighting.[29]

A.J. Smith's Division (including the 77th Illinois) took position on the left flank of the Union line, facing west. To their right was the Division of Peter Osterhaus. The Union center was held by Alvin Hovey's Division, while McPherson's 17th Corps occupied the Union right.[30]

They faced a line of Confederate soldiers positioned on the ridges in the shape of the numeral seven. The 77th Illinois faced Confederates at the bottom of the "7." As William Wiley recalled,

> [We] left Raymond before daylight, marched about eight miles to Champion Hills where a great battle was fought. That day the 77 being in reserve was not actively engaged but were run about from one position to another all day where support was needed. The day being very warm we were badly exhausted and suffered for want of water. At one time we were ordered to pile our knapsacks to charge a battery but the order was countermanded.[31]

McClernand's 13th Corps first made contact with the Confederate forces at about 9:30 a.m., but did not attack vigorously until 4½ hours later.[32] McClernand's four divisions were spread out so much along the battlefield that communication was difficult, hampering the transmission of orders and perhaps forfeiting the opportunity to destroy the enemy force early in the battle.[33] McClernand's delay in attacking allowed the rebel forces to shift their forces to the "top of the 7," where the day's bloodiest fighting would occur that afternoon.[34] It was there that Union divisions commanded by John Logan and Alvin Hovey battled Confederate divisions commanded by Carter Stevenson and John Bowen, respectively.[35] Civil War writer L.B. Northrop summarized the climax of battle:

> Bowen's Division was among the best combat units in the Confederacy ... Bowen sent these cheering men forward ... "like ten thousand starving and howling wolves." Within an hour, Bowen's Rebels had stopped Hovey's Union advance, pushed him back perhaps three-quarters of a mile ... and regained Champion Hill. Only a combination of Union reinforcements from Brigadier General Marcellus Crocker's Division, combined with a shortage of Confederate reserves and ammunition allowed the Union to regain Champion's Hill after forty minutes of intense fighting ... It was soon clear the Confederates were not strong enough to win the battle and if they stayed on the field they were likely to be cut off from their escape route and destroyed. Confederate General Pemberton called for retreat.[36]

The troops of the 77th Illinois, on the far left of the Union line, "fixed their bayonets and charged into the dense forest after the retreating foe." Private William Bentley described the action:

> The rebels were seized with panic, and sought safety in flight. In this charge, men were slaughtered without mercy. The ground was covered with the dead and dying. The rebels scattered in every direction and hurried forward to join the main body retreating in the direction of Vicksburg.[37]

With the exception of one wounded soldier, the 77th Illinois had emerged from the Battle of Champion Hill unscathed.[38] Although Pemberton's Confederates had survived, they had been terribly hurt. As noted historian Edwin Bearss explains:

> The Union victory at Champion Hill was decisive. It prevented Pemberton and Johnston from uniting their armies and forced Pemberton back into Vicksburg.[39]

The Battle of Champion Hill is considered to be the most severe engagement of the entire Vicksburg campaign. Union casualties totaled 410 killed, 1,844 wounded and 187 missing.[40]

Pemberton next assembled his Confederate army along the Big Black River, just east of Vicksburg, where they hastily dug a trench in front of a horseshoe bend in the river.[41] There they constructed a line of rifle pits and positioned several pieces of artillery.[42]

On May 17, 1863, in a one-hour fight, a Union force of 10,000 soldiers defeated a rebel force of 4,000 in the Battle of Big Black River Bridge. The 77th Illinois was positioned near the Union's left (southern) flank. (See Figure 17). A cultivated field separated them from the rebel defense lines.[43] The main credit for the swift Union victory went to one Union brigade (Michael Lawler's 2nd Brigade of the Eugene Carr's 14th Division).[44] Positioned on the Union's right flank, soldiers from this brigade worked their way around the rebel flank, moved through a

narrow opening in the brush and suddenly appeared in the rear of the enemy. The rebel soldiers fled the field in the direction of Vicksburg.[45]

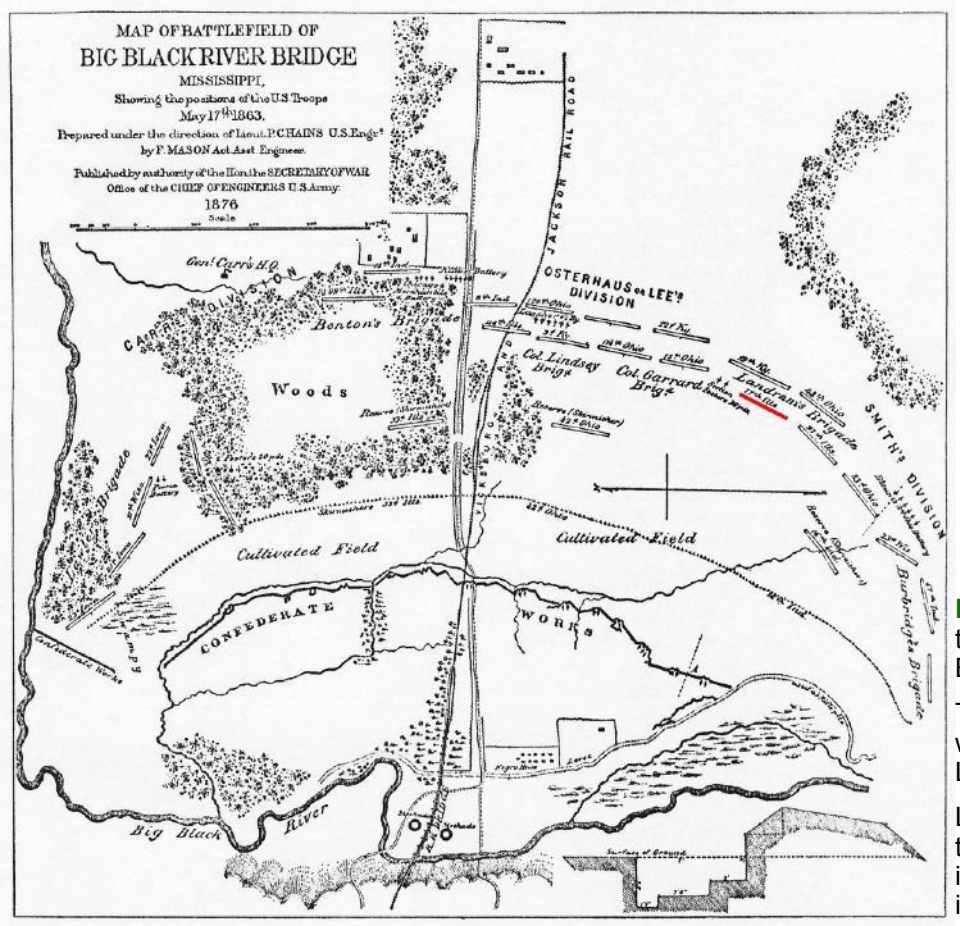

Figure 17: Troop position map for the May 17, 1863 Battle of Big Black River Bridge.

The position of the 77th Illinois, which was part of William Landram's brigade, is shown in red.

Lawler's 2nd Brigade, which flanked the rebel defenses and was instrumental in a Union victory, is indicated at the extreme left.

The following day, the 77th Illinois resumed their westward march toward Vicksburg. Private William Bentley described their mood:

> We marched steadily forward, exulting over the successes of the preceding days and looking forward to fresh victories ... At every step we saw the relics of a panic-stricken army, in the shape of arms and accoutrements, camp and garrison equipage, which they had thrown away ... We now felt confident that the capture of their stronghold was only a question of time and cost ... We encamped at night about four miles in the rear of the rebel works, and waited with anxious impatience for the contest of the morrow.[46]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF VICKSBURG

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 10th Division (Brigadier General Andrew Jackson Smith) — 13th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander McClernand) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General Ulysses Simpson Grant).[47]

Major John Bering and Captain Thomas Montgomery of the 48th Ohio, who fought beside the 77th Illinois in several battles, described Vicksburg's defenses:

> Vicksburg [was] built on a series of high bluffs, and contained 10,000 inhabitants. The defenses of the city consisted of a chain of forts, at intervals of 800 yards, for a distance of seven miles, both right and left, resting on the Mississippi river, and forming a semi-circle around the city. The rifle pits filled the intervals between the forts. In front of these was a ditch fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep. The works were more formidable than we expected to find them, showing that they were fully prepared to receive us.[48]

On May 18, 1863, the Union Army began taking position in front of the Vicksburg defenses. McClernand's 13th Corps, having traveled along the Jackson railroad, took position on the Union left (southeast of the city of Vicksburg). McPherson's 17th Corps took position on the Union center (east of Vicksburg), while Sherman's 15th Corps took position on the Union right (north of Vicksburg).[49] Had Job Benjamin not deserted nine months earlier, he would have been part of Frederick Steele's Division in Sherman's 15th Army Corps.[50]

Grant hoped that Union victories at Champion Hill and Big Black River had shattered the Confederate defenses and that the rebels "would not make much effort to hold Vicksburg."[51] He didn't realize that Pemberton had two fresh divisions guarding the city behind an impressive defense of ravines, earthworks, fallen timber and rifle pits. Historian Victor Hicken describes these defenses:

> The deep cuts and irregular hills behind which the enemy had constructed trenches and artillery emplacements looked immensely formidable, even to the most professional eyes.[52]

On May 19th, the Union Army skirmished with the rebels almost constantly as they positioned themselves for their first assault on the rebel works.[53] At 2 p.m., Sherman launched an infantry attack against the Stockade Redan northeast of the city.[54] Historian Edwin Bearss described the obstacles they faced:

> Rugged terrain ... felled timber ... and crashing volleys from Mississippi and Louisiana regiments decimated the Union ranks, and their surge was checked [with heavy losses].[55]

While Sherman's Corps fought a losing battle at the northeast defense line, McPherson's and McClernand's corps moved within a quarter mile of the rebel works.[56] Private William Bentley of the 77th Illinois described their regiment's participation:

> We had reached the brow of the hill when the rebels from their forts opened upon our whole line with shell, shrapnel, grape and canister. Hurrying down into the next ravine, we escaped injury. Another high hill was now to be gone over. We went steadily forward up its steep side, in comparative security. When we had reached its brow in full view of the rebel line of works, there poured upon us a shower of shells which made the earth tremble with their terrific explosion. It was on this hill that the loss of our regiment on this day was sustained . . . four killed and twelve wounded. The idea of an immediate assault was abandoned.[57]

On the following two days — May 20th and 21st — the Union Army strengthened its position and constructed roads behind their lines to facilitate the movement of supplies. On the night of May 21st, the troops were issued full rations, including bread and coffee, which pleased everyone.[58]

Johnston's Confederate army, which was fifty miles behind the Union positions, still worried Grant. Johnston's rebel forces were growing, and could conceivably mount an attack upon the Union army within days. Grant wanted to take Vicksburg before Johnston's rebels could assist the Confederate army at Vicksburg. Grant explained:

> The immediate capture of Vicksburg would save [me from sending] reinforcements which were so much wanted elsewhere, and would set free the army under me to drive Johnston from the State.[59]

A second frontal attack on Vicksburg was ordered for the following day. The Union effort involving McClernand's Thirteenth Corps would be directed at three Confederate strongpoints — the Second Texas Lunette, the Railroad Redoubt, and the Square Fort (listed from north to south).[60]

A lunette is defined as an earthwork consisting of two sides projecting outward and open at the rear. A redoubt is defined as an independent earthwork of any shape, usually enclosed or semi-enclosed, and built in advance of a fortified line. A fort is a completely enclosed earthwork.[61] Located about a mile and a half east of Vicksburg, the Railroad Redoubt protected the Southern Railroad of Mississippi's passage through the Confederate defenses. Semi-enclosed and open only in the rear, the Railroad Redoubt projected over 150 yards ahead of the regular defense lines. (See Figures 18-21). The interior of the redoubt was divided into three compartments by lateral traverses. A ditch immediately in front of the redoubt was filled with abatis made by cutting down trees and binding them together with telegraph wire. One hundred yards beyond this ditch lay a natural ravine that provided an additional defensive element to the already strong position.[62]

The Union's attack strategy was as follows: Brigadier General Eugene Asa Carr, commanding the 14th Division of the 13th Corps, would attack the Railroad Redoubt and the Second Texas Lunette.[63] The attack would be spearheaded by Brigadier General Michael Lawler's 2nd Brigade, which included the 21st Iowa, 22nd Iowa, and 11th Wisconsin infantry regiments. Supporting the 14th Division's initial assault would be William Landram's 2nd Brigade of the 13th Corps' 10th Division (which included the 77th Illinois, 97th Illinois, 130th Illinois, 19th Kentucky, and 48th Illinois infantry regiments).[64] Although Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois was originally planned as supportive of the initial assault, in reality it would emerge later that day as one of the most important Union regiments in the assault upon the Railroad Redoubt.

May 22, 1863 dawned clear and calm. At 8 o'clock, the serenity of the day was abruptly disturbed by cannon fire all along the Union lines.[65] Twenty-four guns were brought to bear on the Railroad Redoubt, and in the two hours that followed, its tip would be breached and its ditch filled with earth.[66] In his three volume work on the Vicksburg Campaign, Edwin Bearss described the assembling of troops during the initial artillery barrage:

> Lawler had formed his command in double line of battle in the ravine 150 yards east of its goal — the 22nd Iowa on the right, supported by the 21st Iowa, and the 11th Wisconsin on the left, trailed by the 97th Illinois of Landram's brigade. Landram had marshaled his command behind the crest of the ridge in double column of attack — the 77th Illinois and 48th Ohio on the right, the 19th Kentucky and 130th Illinois on the left.[67] (See Figure 22).

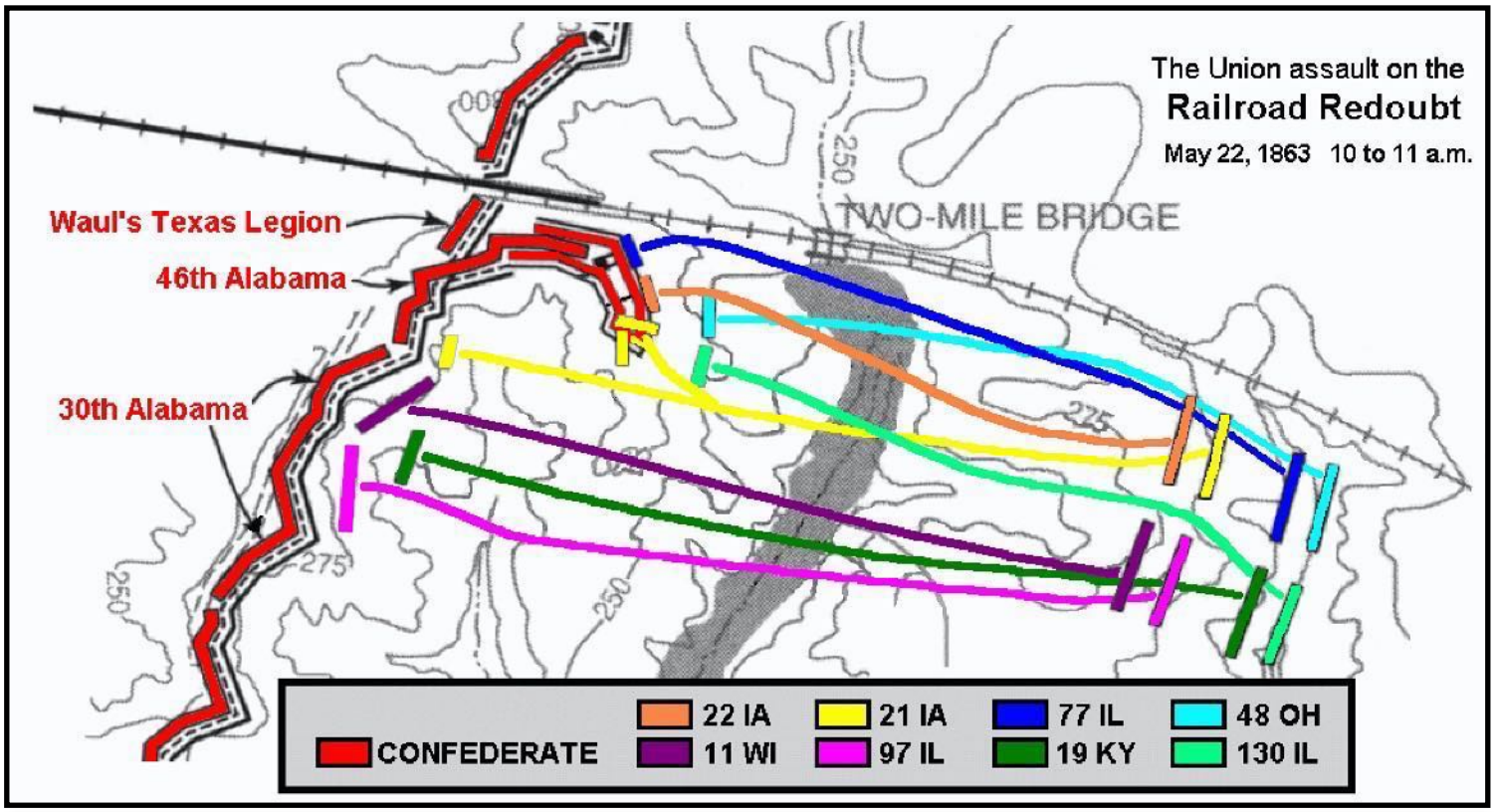

Figure 22: This map shows the initial deployment of Union Troops at the Railroad Redoubt on May 22, 1863, their movements between 10 and 11 a.m., and their "high tide" positions. Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois is shown by dark blue.

(Map adapted from Maps 65 and 66 created by Warren E. Grabau, *Ninety-Eight Days: A Geographer's View of the Vicksburg Campaign*, pp. 599-600).

The Union attack commenced at five minutes before 10 o'clock. Lawler's battle line, with bayonets fixed, swept forward toward the redoubt, where they were met by ragged rifle fire. Lawler's two right-flank regiments — the 22nd Iowa with the 21st Iowa close behind in support — reached the ditch in front of the redoubt, where they were checked by fierce fire from the 30th Alabama, 46th Alabama, and portions of Thomas Waul's Texas Legion. Lawler's men advanced through the abatis in the ravine, up the redoubt's slope and into the ditch immediately in front. About a dozen soldiers entered the redoubt through a breach created by the earlier artillery bombardment and, through furious hand-to-hand combat, drove most of the rebel defenders back across the first traverse.[68] Captain C.N. Lee of the 22nd Iowa recalled the fierce fighting:

> . . . the Twenty-second Iowa deployed two companies (A and B) as skirmishers and advanced, followed by the other regiments of the brigade, to the front, determined to dislodge the enemy or die in the attempt. Onward they went through the most galling fire of musketry, grape, and canister, until retarded by an almost impassable abatis. This obstacle overcome, they gained the top of the hill, gathered around, driving the enemy from the rifle-pits in front, and planting the Stars and Stripes on the ramparts. About fifty men of the Twenty-second scaled the walls and entered the fort, driving the enemy before them and taking 15 prisoners. There being a series of rifle-pits in the rear, it was impossible to hold it with such an inadequate force under a terribly destructive fire, and they withdrew, with a loss of nearly half their number killed, wounded, or captured.[69]

THE RAILROAD REDOUBT AT VICKSBURG

Figure 18: This view of the Railroad Redoubt, taken from the Confederate vantage point atop the redoubt, shows the Position Tablets for Landram's Brigade (which included the 77th Illinois) and the Rebel position just to the left of the far cannon. The Landram tablet faces away from the viewer, while the Rebel tablet faces toward the viewer.

U.S.
CARR'S APPROACH
BECINNING OF CARR'S SAP FROM SECOND PARALLEL TO THE CONFEDERATE RAILROAD REDOUBT. WORK ON IT COMMENCED JUNE 25.

Figure 19: This view shows the steep grade that the 77th Illinois had to scale in order to assault the Railroad Redoubt at Vicksburg on May 22, 1863. Position Tablets for Landram's and Lawler's Brigades at the crest of the hill face photographer Bruce Schulze.

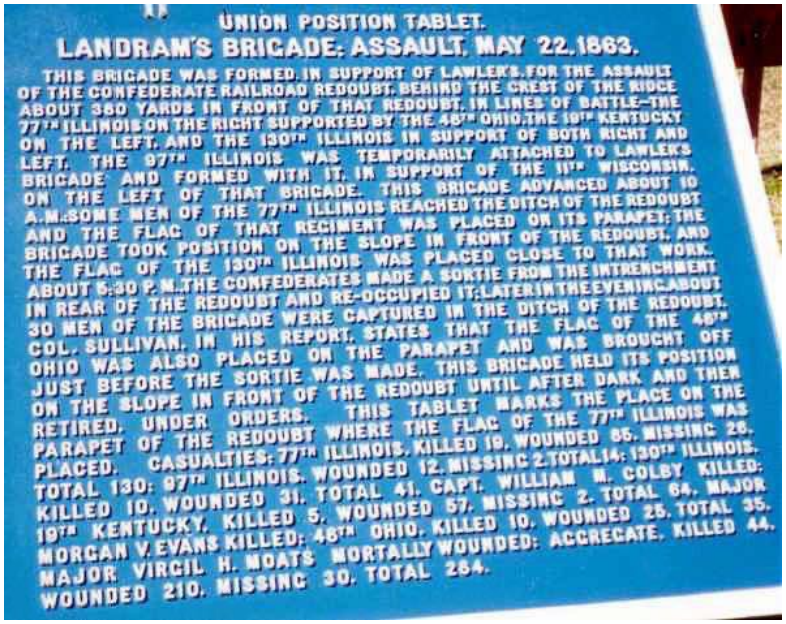
UNION POSITION TABLET.
LANDRAM'S BRIGADE. ASSAULT MAY 22.1863.
THIS BRIGADE WAS FORMED IN SUPPORT OF LAWLER'S FOR THE ASSAULT OF THE CONFEDERATE RAILROAD REDOUBT. BEHIND THE CREST OF THE RIDGE ABOUT 380 YARDS IN FRONT OF THAT REDOUBT, IN LINES OF BATTLE—THE 77TH ILLINOIS ON THE RIGHT SUPPORTED BY THE 48TH OHIO. THE 10TH KENTUCKY ON THE LEFT. AND THE 130TH ILLINOIS IN SUPPORT OF BOTH RIGHT AND LEFT. THE 97TH ILLINOIS WAS TEMPORARILY ATTACHED TO LAWLER'S BRIGADE AND FORMED WITH IT. IN SUPPORT OF THE 11TH WISCONSIN. ON THE LEFT OF THAT BRIGADE. THIS BRIGADE ADVANCED ABOUT 10 A.M. & SOME MEN OF THE 77TH ILLINOIS REACHED THE DITCH OF THE REDOUBT AND THE FLAG OF THAT REGIMENT WAS PLACED ON ITS PARAPET: THE BRIGADE TOOK POSITION ON THE SLOPE IN FRONT OF THE REDOUBT, AND THE FLAG OF THE 130TH ILLINOIS WAS PLACED CLOSE TO THAT WORK. ABOUT 6:30 P.M. THE CONFEDERATES MADE A SORTIE FROM THE INTRENCHMENT IN REAR OF THE REDOUBT AND RE-OCCUPIED IT; LATER IN THE EVENING ABOUT 30 MEN OF THE BRIGADE WERE CAPTURED IN THE DITCH OF THE REDOUBT. COL. SULLIVAN, IN HIS REPORT, STATES THAT THE FLAG OF THE 48TH OHIO WAS ALSO PLACED ON THE PARAPET AND WAS BROUGHT OFF JUST BEFORE THE SORTIE WAS MADE. THIS BRIGADE HELD ITS POSITION ON THE SLOPE IN FRONT OF THE REDOUBT UNTIL AFTER DARK AND THEN RETIRED, UNDER ORDERS. THIS TABLET MARKS THE PLACE ON THE PARAPET OF THE REDOUBT WHERE THE FLAG OF THE 77TH ILLINOIS WAS PLACED. CASUALTIES: 77TH ILLINOIS, KILLED 19, WOUNDED 85, MISSING 26, TOTAL 130; 97TH ILLINOIS, WOUNDED 12, MISSING 2, TOTAL 14; 130TH ILLINOIS, KILLED 10, WOUNDED 31, TOTAL 41, CAPT. WILLIAM M. COLBY KILLED; 10TH KENTUCKY, KILLED 5, WOUNDED 57, MISSING 2, TOTAL 64, MAJOR MORGAN V. EVANS KILLED; 48TH OHIO, KILLED 10, WOUNDED 25, TOTAL 35, MAJOR VIRGIL H. MOATS MORTALLY WOUNDED; AGGREGATE, KILLED 44, WOUNDED 210, MISSING 30, TOTAL 284.

Figure 20: Position Tablet for Landram's Brigade. Note that this tablet marks the place on the parapet where the flag of the 77th Illinois was placed.

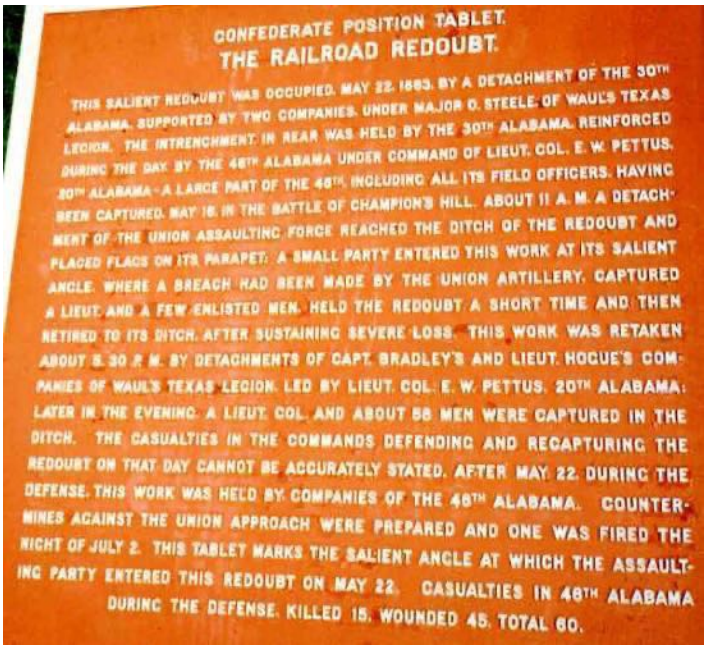
CONFEDERATE POSITION TABLET.
THE RAILROAD REDOUBT.
THIS SALIENT REDOUBT WAS OCCUPIED MAY 22, 1863, BY A DETACHMENT OF THE 30TH ALABAMA, SUPPORTED BY TWO COMPANIES, UNDER MAJOR O. STEELE, OF WAUL'S TEXAS LEGION. THE INTRENCHMENT IN REAR WAS HELD BY THE 30TH ALABAMA. REINFORCED DURING THE DAY BY THE 46TH ALABAMA UNDER COMMAND OF LIEUT. COL. E. W. PETTUS. 30TH ALABAMA - A LARGE PART OF THE 46TH, INCLUDING ALL ITS FIELD OFFICERS, HAVING BEEN CAPTURED MAY 16, IN THE BATTLE OF CHAMPION'S HILL. ABOUT 11 A. M. A DETACHMENT OF THE UNION ASSAULTING FORCE REACHED THE DITCH OF THE REDOUBT AND PLACED FLAGS ON ITS PARAPET. A SMALL PARTY ENTERED THIS WORK AT ITS SALIENT ANGLE, WHERE A BREACH HAD BEEN MADE BY THE UNION ARTILLERY, CAPTURED A LIEUT. AND A FEW ENLISTED MEN. HELD THE REDOUBT A SHORT TIME AND THEN RETIRED TO ITS DITCH, AFTER SUSTAINING SEVERE LOSS. THIS WORK WAS RETAKEN ABOUT 6.30 P. M. BY DETACHMENTS OF CAPT. BRADLEY'S AND LIEUT. HOGUE'S COMPANIES OF WAUL'S TEXAS LEGION, LED BY LIEUT. COL. E. W. PETTUS, 20TH ALABAMA. LATER IN THE EVENING A LIEUT. COL. AND ABOUT 50 MEN WERE CAPTURED IN THE DITCH. THE CASUALTIES IN THE COMMANDS DEFENDING AND RECAPTURING THE REDOUBT ON THAT DAY CANNOT BE ACCURATELY STATED. AFTER MAY 22, DURING THE DEFENSE, THIS WORK WAS HELD BY COMPANIES OF THE 46TH ALABAMA. COUNTER-MINES AGAINST THE UNION APPROACH WERE PREPARED AND ONE WAS FIRED THE NIGHT OF JULY 2. THIS TABLET MARKS THE SALIENT ANGLE AT WHICH THE ASSAULTING PARTY ENTERED THIS REDOUBT ON MAY 22. CASUALTIES IN 46TH ALABAMA DURING THE DEFENSE, KILLED 15, WOUNDED 45, TOTAL 60.

Figure 21: Position Tablet for the Confederate position atop the Railroad Redoubt.

The 21st Iowa's Regimental Adjutant George Crooke also recalled the hellish fight:

> It was a tornado of iron on our left, a hurricane of shot on our right. We passed through the mouth of hell. Every third man fell, either killed or wounded.[70]

The flag of the 22nd Iowa was the first one placed on the Railroad Redoubt that morning. Despite their initial success, soldiers of the 21st and 22nd Iowa who had penetrated the parapet could advance no further, due to the storm of bullets originating from the rifle pits behind the redoubt. A few Union soldiers tried to wriggle across the top of the parapet into the second compartment of the fort, but were either killed or forced to retreat. Those soldiers who had not entered the redoubt took cover in the ditch. As the two Iowa regiments gained a toehold within the Railroad Redoubt, Landram's brigades, including the 77th Illinois, prepared to move forward to support their initial attack.[71] Lieutenant Colonel Lysander Webb of the 77th Illinois described what would arguably become their regiment's finest hour of the Civil War:

> At ten o'clock, our whole line was ordered to charge the rebel works with bayonets fixed. Our Regiment was drawn up in line of battle just behind the brow of the hill over which our charge was to be made. On the next hill frowned the rebel fort, up into the face of which it was our duty to go. Between us was a deep ravine filled with fallen timber and thick undergrowth of brush, brambles and cane.
>
> Ten o'clock, the hour we had so anxiously waited for, finally came. 'Forward the Seventy-seventh,' was the word. The men sprang to their arms and moved up and over the brow of the hill. Ten or fifteen feet over the brow, the storm opened upon us terribly from the right, left and front, making sad havoc in our ranks. Down into the abatis of fallen timber and brush we went, and commenced the struggle of the ascent, our comrades falling thickly on all sides of us. Still up the hill we pressed, through the brambles and brush, over the dead and dying — up, up we struggled, over logs, into ditches, clinging here to a bush to keep from falling backwards, and there to a thorny bramble — oh! that was a half hour which may God grant we shall not be called upon to experience its like again. Finally, the fort is reached.[72]

Soldiers of Landram's brigade, including the 77th Illinois, were unable to return the rebel's murderous fire, since their Union comrades from Lawler's brigade were also in their line of fire. Instead, they took position in the ditch immediately to the right of the Iowans.[73] Lieutenant Colonel Lysander Webb of the 77th Illinois described the action:

> Panting for breath, and with only a fragment of the regiment for their support, a dauntless dash was made for the fort. A part of our men went over into the ditch surrounding the fort, a few got through a port-hole upon the inside . . . "Plant our colors upon the ramparts," Colonel Grier shouted.[74]

One brave soldier planted the regimental colors of the 77th Illinois alongside those of the 22nd Iowa. Soldiers of the 21st Iowa, 22nd Iowa, and 77th Illinois savagely clawed and fought their way up the steep slope of the Railroad Redoubt.[75] Few, if any, soldiers from the 77th Illinois actually entered the fort, but they were still in a dangerous and life-threatening position. Early that afternoon, Confederate reinforcements, largely from the 30th Alabama, were brought forward to drive the Yankees from the ditch fronting the redoubt and to seal the breach in their lines.[76] On the Union side, reinforcements came from the 48th Ohio and 130th Illinois regiments. The colors of the 48th Ohio were raised beside those of the 22nd Iowa and 77th Illinois.[77] Lieutenant Colonel Lysander Webb of the 77th Illinois described the subsequent action:

> Fifteen or twenty minutes after reaching the fort, the 48th Ohio and 130th Illinois of our brigade came to our support, but in the mean time the enemy had been reinforced at that point, and we were too weak to attempt to carry their inner work. Unsupported for ten hours, we kept up the fight amid the enfilading fire of rebel cannon and musketry. I wish it were in my power to do justice to the immortal heroism of the noble men and officers of the 77th Regiment, upon whom fell the

> principal brunt of the fight, who, during those ten thrilling hours, defended the position which they had, after such a fearful struggle obtained. Comrade after comrade fell around us; hotter and hotter grew the rebel fire as regiment after regiment came to their support, but we would not give back. Reinforcements were promised us, and most anxiously, but in vain, we watched for them.[78]

Soldiers from the 48th Ohio described the same desperate struggle:

> We were now exposed to an enfilading fire from the right and left, which was thinning our ranks at a fearful rate. We were left there to contend against great odds, without any assistance whatever. At 4 p.m. the rebels massed their troops on our front, and attacked us with great fury, and re-took the fort, capturing the colors and fifty men of the 77th Ills. Ike Carmin, one of our color guards, with a bayonet-wound in the leg, clung to our flag and saved it from sharing the same fate. This was the signal for a second attack on both sides. Another charge was ordered all along the line. It was a glorious sight to see our troops advancing in plain view over the hills, to our assistance. But as soon as they got within range of the rebel fire, they were mown down and almost annihilated. So destructive was the concentrated fire of the enemy, that not a single man of those sent to reinforce us reached our line.[79]

Historian Victor Hicken described one heroic effort undertaken by soldiers of the 77th Illinois:

> The fighting here was worse than at any spot along the entire line. Having no artillery support, some of the men of the 77th Illinois carried a small cannon forward by hand, and fired it through the embrasure into the enemy works.[80]

Thirty-five years later, Corporal Winthop D. Putnam, Corporal from Company A, was issued the Congressional Medal of Honor for this heroic action.[81]

Confederate generals, well aware of the importance of the redoubt, ordered in reinforcements to retake their position at all cost. As an extra incentive, General S.D. Lee offered the enemy colors to the command that captured any of the three Union colors that were now raised on the Railroad Redoubt parapet.[82] At 5:30 p.m., the rebels surged forward. The colors of the 22nd Iowa and 48th Ohio were successfully removed amidst the flood of rebel soldiers, but the regimental colors of the 77th Illinois were captured and subsequently delivered to the victorious Texans of Waul's Legion.[83] Lieutenant Colonel Lysander Webb of the 77th Illinois described the sad ending to a long day of hard fighting:

> Nearly half our men were either killed or wounded, and all of us nearly exhausted by the day's fight, when, at about six o'clock, the enemy rallied in force, made a rush with fixed bayonets, and for a few seconds we thought all was lost. Our men fell back in confusion, but only some twelve feet. I think the prompt action of the officers of the regiment saved it from rout and slaughter. We rallied the men, checked the advance of the rebels and held our own. They captured our regimental banner in the sortie, which had floated all day over their fort and had been shot to shreds.[84]

Upon hearing that his men may have broken the Confederate defenses, McClernand informed Grant of their success and pleaded for reinforcements. Upon receiving McClernand's note, Grant turned to Sherman beside him and said, "I don't believe a word of it." Grant was so used to hearing the boasts of McClernand that he had trouble believing this latest news. Sherman reminded Grant that the note was official and should not be ignored. Reluctantly, Grant ordered an additional division of men to reinforce Landram's section of the line.[85] However, when this division reported to McClernand, instead of ordering it as one unit into battle, he split the division into three parts, with only one ordered to bolster the forces that had penetrated the Railroad Redoubt.[86] Commanded by Colonel George Boomer, this four-regiment brigade quickly made their way across the ridge and descended into the bottom of a hollow.[87] Unfortunately for the men in blue, the abatis and other obstructions in the ravines caused confusion and forced the commanders to waste valuable time reforming their lines in preparation for the impending assault. This lost time allowed the Confederates to shift their

forces to meet the new challenge.[88] Boomer's brigade added little to the Union effort, other than to its casualty list. In the bitter words of Sergeant Aaron Dunbar of the 93rd Illinois, "It was much like marching men to their graves in line of battle." [89] Adding to the Union woes was the unfortunate death of Colonel Boomer himself, who was struck in the head by a rifle shot and mortally wounded just as the assault was about to commence. His successor, Colonel Holden Putnam of the 93rd Illinois, noticed the dramatically increased rebel resistance, believed that the assault would be suicidal, and received permission from this commander to cancel it.[90]

Union soldiers, including those of the 77th Illinois, still continued to hold the ditch. To dislodge their foe, rebel soldiers began to throw, lob, and roll various sized artillery shells (in a manner akin to modern-day hand grenades) upon their enemy.[91] As explained by Terrence Winschel, author of *The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier*, these devices were either glass bottles filled with gun powder and lead balls or a more sophisticated invention consisting of a cast iron sphere containing gun powder and surrounded by a matrix of percussion caps, any one of which could detonate the explosive.[92] Winschel's "common soldier" — William Wiley — describes what would prove to be the "final straw" in the Union assult:

> Our men in the ditch had a fearful time. The rebels lit hand grenades and fuse shells and threw them over among them which exploded and killed a great many of them until our men got to grabbing them up and throwing them back before they would exploded which made them a little more careful how they throwed them over. But they would cut the fuse short that some would explode before our men could throw them back.[93]

Historian Victor Hicken summarized the May 22nd assault:

> Either because the attack was doomed to failure by the staunchness of the Confederate defense or because of the delay in ordering reinforcements to McClernand, the May 22nd assault was a terrible failure. The attacking regiments were torn apart and hurled back ... Still, those staunch Illinois and Iowa soldiers ... maintained their slender hold upon the enemy forts until late in the day.[94]

Although the rebel defenses at Vicksburg were severely tested by this second major Union assault in four days, they did not break. The Confederate counterattack succeeded; the Union assault had been beaten back. In the day's fighting, the Union army sustained 3,199 casualties. The 77th Illinois suffered 130 casualties (20 dead, 86 wounded, and 24 missing) — a greater number than any other Illinois regiment and second only to the 22nd Iowa, which suffered 164 casualties.[95]

Bentley's regimental history also noted that **Richard Morris**, whose carte de visite photograph appears in Appendix B, was one of the men in Company K to be wounded that day.[96]

Another tribute to the bravery exhibited by Union soldiers that day came from the acclaimed Civil War researcher Bell Irvin Wiley, who observed:

> Certainly the Confederates had no braver soldiers than those blue-clad heroes who responded to Grant's order to charge the works at Vicksburg on May 22, 1863.[97]

Pemberton was confident. With a second major Union assault successfully resisted, he knew that Grant would have no choice but to resort to seige operations. Pemberton knew that his rebel army had ample food and supplies to sustain them until Joe Johnston's army could come to their aid. It was only a matter of time, he thought, until his Union foe could be driven away and, with a little luck, perhaps even defeated.[98]

The enormous losses of the day brought much sadness and anger to the Union officers. Grant and others were very upset with McClernand, believing that many of the casualties were caused by McClernand's poor judgement in asking for reinforcements when there was (in Grant's opinion) little hope for success.[99]

McClernand's reputation would go from bad to worse. Hearing the rumors against him, McClernand wrote a long and floridly written congratulatory order to his own 13th Army Corps, dated May 30th. In his order, McClernand blamed the failure of the May 22nd assault on Grant's slowness to reinforce his troops. He also claimed a disproportionate share of the success for the entire Mississippi campaign, offending other corps commanders in the process.[100]

But McClernand's greatest error was simply not following military regulations. According to these regulations, McClernand should have submitted this letter directly to Grant. Instead, McClernand sent it directly to several western newspapers without Grant's knowledge.[101] McClernand's breach of regulations was all that Grant and fellow officers needed to finally rid themselves of McClernand. On June 15, 1863, Special Orders Number 164 relieved John A. McClernand from duty. Major General Edward Otho Cresap Ord assumed command of the 13th Army Corps.[102]

Realizing that Vicksburg could not be taken by force, Grant and his Union troops settled in for a siege. All ammunition and food lines to Vicksburg (what few remained) were cut. Thousands of shells were hurled into the city and Union engineers pushed 13 "approach trenches" toward the Confederate defenses.[103] Private William Wiley described these efforts:

> Heavy details were mady each day to work in the trenches and do picket duty in the trenches already dug. We soon got our trenches up so near to the rebel forts that they could fire down on our workmen from the top of their works. But our Yankee ingenuity overcame this difficulty by making long rollers or tubes of bamboo canes about as large as sugar hogheads but longer and filling them with cotton and rolling them in front of us as a breast work.[104]

Pushed by hand by Union soldiers digging approach trenches, these large, barrel-shaped devices were known as sap rollers.[105]

To conserve ammunition, Pemberton restricted the firing of rebel cannons. To escape the Union shelling, Vicksburg residents dug caves in the hillside for shelter. On June 25, 1863, Union mines were exploded under the Third Louisiana Redan (north of the 77th Illinois' original position).[106] Grant ordered A.J. Smith's Division, including the 77th Illinois, to sleep on their arms that night, and be ready for any emergency. Grant hoped that the Union assault, led by soldiers of the 17th Army Corps, would be successful, and that by daybreak the soldiers of A.J. Smith's Division would be needed to complete the capture of Vicksburg. But the order never came. The Union assault failed.[107]

By late-June, despite their stubborn defiance, Pemberton's Confederate army was in a desperate situation. Other Confederate forces were too occupied with Union forces in middle Tennessee (which would ultimately lead to the Battle of Chickamauga in September) to assist in relieving the defenders of Vicksburg.[108] Joe Johnston, whose army now largely consisted of poorly equipped new recruits, advised Pemberton and President Jefferson Davis that Vicksburg should be abandoned to save the army from capture. Johnston's strategy was ignored. Pemberton's army held on, with less and less food and supplies for both soldier and resident alike.[109] By late June, almost half the Confederate forces defending Vicksburg were either on the sick list or in the hospital. Daily rations were down to one biscuit per soldier. With conditions fast deteriorating, the rebel army was becoming ripe for mutiny.[110]

On July 3rd, Pemberton met with Grant to discuss terms for possible surrender. Grant originally proposed unconditional surrender, which Pemberton refused. That night, however, Grant softened the terms a bit, and on July 4, 1863, the 87th anniversary of American independence, Vicksburg surrendered to the Union army.[111]

Private William Bentley eloquently summed up the Vicksburg campaign:

Vicksburg! What thrilling recollections cluster about the name! The weary march — the hunger, thirst and fatigue — the rapid and resistless advance — the successful investment of the rebel works by an impenetrable line of troops — the bloody, hard-fought battles — the daring but unsuccessful assault — the high-noon and midnight labor in the trenches — the watchfulness and weariness — the laborious and long-continued siege — the final capture of the place on the ever-memorable Fourth of July — these, and similar events, will ever be remembered with patriotic pride by all who participated in them.[112]

1863 (Part III)

SAMUEL KIRKMAN MARCHES TO JACKSON AND BACK AGAIN

On July 5, 1863, the day after the surrender of Vicksburg, the 9th, 13th and 15th Army Corps were given marching orders. Their objective was to move east toward the city of Jackson in an attempt to destroy Joseph E. Johnston's rebel army.[1] Historian Victor Hicken describes the ordeal of this march:

> The march of the 13th Corps, now commanded by [Major General] Ord, was conducted under the most uncomfortable conditions, intense heat and dust.[2]

William Wiley also recalled the difficult conditions they faced:

> We were marched at a very rapid pace as Gen Sherman was trying to steal a march on Gen Johnson before he learned of the fall of Vicksburg. As the day got very hot and the road terribly dusty and water was very scarce and the boys being rather soft on the march after lying in the trenches around Vicksburg so long.[3]

Joining the 13th Army Corps in the assault on the city of Jackson were the 9th Corps and the 15th Corps.[4] Private William Bentley described what happened next:

> We were within easy range of the rebel guns, and the shells would crash through the trees and burst over our heads ... Our lines were drawing closer and closer around the rebel works, and we expected soon to have them surrounded on all sides. General Johnston, fearing such a result, took the precaution to evacuate during the night of [July] 16th ... On the morning of the 17th, troops were marched in and formal possession was taken of the city.[5]

On July 19th, two days after the surrender of Jackson, Mississippi, the 77th Illinois was ordered south of the city to tear up a section of the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern Railroad. After discovering that the task had already been completed by other troops, they were ordered to return to Vicksburg, which they reached on July 23rd.[6] William Wiley described the regiment's reaction to their frequent marches:

> Our boys had got to calling themselves Gen Smith's greyhounds on account of being run about so much and on this march whenever Gen Smith would come in sight they would set up the most unearthly howling like a pack of hounds. At one time the Gen rode up to our Col and asked him what the h--ll his men meant by howling that way whenever he came near. . . He put us through all the faster from that to Vicksburg and the harder he marched us the harder we yelled.[7]

On July 24th, after almost six months of incessant toil, the soldiers of the 77th Illinois were finally allowed to rest and recuperate. Private Bentley described the easy life they had long awaited:

> We had company drill at seven o'clock in the morning, and dress parade at six o'clock p.m. The rest of the time, we enjoyed life as best we could.[8]

Despite the light duty, the soldiers had to endure another hardship — the heat and humidity of a southern summer. William Wiley remembers,

> . . . the weather was terrible hot. I think I never experienced such hot and oppressive weather as we had. While there we had to fix up frames and cover them with brush to make shades to lay in during the heat of the day. . . We spent a good deal of our time when not too terrible hot in visiting the city and the surrounding fortifications, our old battle grounds etc and visiting friends and acquaintances in other regiments.[9]

Their “life of enjoyment” would last approximately one month. On July 28th, soon after their return to Vicksburg, the 13th Army Corps was reorganized, with Major General Ord still in command.[10] The Divisional organizations were as follows:

1st Division, commanded by C.C. Washburn
2nd Division, commanded by Francis J. Herron
3rd Division, commanded by Alvin P. Hovey
4th Division, commanded by Stephen G. Burbridge

The 77th Illinois was assigned to the Second Brigade of the 4th Division. With them were the 97th Illinois, 130th Illinois, 48th Ohio, 19th Kentucky, and the Mercantile Battery of Chicago. A.J. Smith, who had been Samuel Kirkman’s division commander for over seven months, was sent north to assume new duties. Their paths, however, would meet again the following year.[11]

On August 7, 1863, the Corps was transferred to the Department of the Gulf. Their new corps commander was Major General Cadwallader Colder (C.C.) Washburn. In a rather complicated course of events, Washburn would command the 13th Corps from July 28th to September 14th. Ord would re-assume command from September 15th to October 19th. Washburn re-assumed command for one week (October 20th to October 25th), after which time, Major General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana commanded the Corps from October 25, 1863 through January, 1864.[12]

On August 25th, the regiment boarded the steamer *Atlantic* for Carrollton, Louisiana (a suburb of New Orleans) to participate in an August 29th grand review before Major General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks. Banks, a politician-general from Massachusetts, had recently completed a successful campaign against Port Hudson, Mississippi, south of Vicksburg.[13] In the spring of 1864, Banks would lead his Union armies (including the 77th Illinois) on one of the most unfortunate debacles of the war — the Red River Campaign.

On September 4th, an even more impressive review (consisting of 15,000 troops) took place before Banks, Grant, and Adjutant General Thomas.[14]

MEANWHILE . . . THE BATTLE OF CHICKAMAUGA

Contributing to the downfall of Vicksburg was the fact that a powerful Union army prevented Confederate forces located in the middle part of Tennessee from moving southward to assist the defenders of Vicksburg.[15] That Union army, commanded by Major General William Starke Rosecrans, had its own objectives in mind. In August of 1863, Rosecrans brought his 80,000 man Army of the Cumberland to the Tennessee River in an attempt to capture the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Historian William Glenn Robertson explains his motivation:

> That city was important because of its rail lines, its mineral resources, and its position astride a railroad pathway through the Appalachian Mountains into the South's heartland... Defending Chattanooga was the Confederate Army of Tennessee, commanded by General Braxton Bragg and 50,000 troops.[16]

On September 18-20, 1863, these two armies clashed in what would become the largest battle in the western war, the Battle of Chickamauga. The battle was decided by a Union blunder late in the morning of September 20th. Rosecrans, acting on unverified information, ordered Union troops along their front line to close a gap in their formation — a gap that didn’t exist. Rosecrans’ order created a real gap in the Union line, and Confederate troops took full advantage of this mistake by storming through this break in the line. Federal units on either side of the hole crumbled and fled for their lives. Only the brave fighting by soldiers under

Major General George Thomas (who was known thereafter as the “Rock of Chickamauga”) kept the Union army from being annihilated. Although the battle was a major Confederate victory, it was not fully exploited in the days that followed, and Bragg would be severely criticized for his inaction.[17]

A disorganized and demoralized Union army retreated to Chattanooga, with Bragg’s Confederates in pursuit. Instead of attacking the Union army, however, Bragg decided to conduct a siege in an effort “to cut off Union supplies and oblige the Federals to either surrender or abandon Chattanooga.” [18]

Realizing the importance of Chattanooga, President Lincoln ordered heavy reinforcements to that city, including 20,000 troops from Sherman’s 15th Corps and a similar number from two different army corps stationed with the Army of the Potomac in Virginia, commanded by Major General Joseph Hooker.[19]

Although none of my three soldiers fought in the Battle of Chickamauga, Job Benjamin fought in the Battle of Chattanooga that took place two months afterwards. However, before that could happen, Job first had to be returned to his regiment after a one-year absence.

JOB BENJAMIN IS RETURNED TO THE ARMY

As I described earlier, Job Benjamin deserted from the Union camp at Helena, Arkansas on August 10, 1862.[20] Unfortunately for him, seven months later (on March 3, 1863) the U.S. Government created the Provost Marshal General’s Bureau to enforce the conscription of soldiers and apprehend deserters.[21] On July 22, 1863, this newly created bureau caught up with Job in Sylvania, Ohio. He was arrested and subsequently turned over to the Provost Marshall in the 13th Congressional District of Ohio.[22] From there, he was apparently transported to Cairo, Illinois and turned over to the Provost Marshall of the 10th District of Illinois. Records show his subsequent transport from Cairo to Memphis, Tennessee on or about September 3, 1863.[23] (See Figure 23). On September 18, 1863, Job rejoined his unit, which was camped at the railroad bridge along the Big Black River, about 20 miles east of Vicksburg.[24]

THE PENALTIES FOR DESERTION

Historian James Robertson described the severity of the problem of desertion:

> At the beginning of 1865, over 420,000 soldiers North and South were absent from their commands. A sizable percentage of those absences was justified for one reason or another, but the majority of them were not. Since the chances were about 3 to 1 that a deserter could make a successful escape from the army, disgruntled soldiers took advantage of both the opportunities and the odds.[25]

No other army transgression had such a wide variety of punishments imposed than that of desertion. Historian Irvin Bell Wiley describes this inconsistency:

> Early in the war, punishments were amazingly light, often not exceeding the forfeiture of one to three months pay ... Penalties became more severe after the first year or two of conflict, but even then deserters occasionally drew relatively trivial sentences ... Penalties ranged from death, imprisonment from one to five years, or being branded with a letter ‘D’.[26]

Lesser punishments included confinement to the guardhouse (often no more than a guarded tent), marching about the camp carrying a log or a bag of sand, digging stumps, or performing

B | 76 | Ohio.

Job A. Benjamin

Pvt., Co. C, 76 Reg't Ohio Infantry.

Appears on

Company Muster Roll

for Sept & Oct, 1863.

Present or absent present

Stoppage $ 100 for

Due Gov't $ 100 for

Remarks: Returned from Desertion Sept 3-63 Transit furnished & Expenses of arrest by Provost Marshall 10 Dist O. 7. 40 Transit from Cairo Ill to Memphis 90 = $ 8.30

Book mark:

(358) Copyist.

Figure 23: A copy of Job Benjamin's September-October, 1863 Muster Roll documents his arrest and transfer to Cairo, Illinois. From the National Archives.

extra duties.[27] Charles Willison, a private from Job's 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, mentioned three other soldiers from the 76th Ohio who had deserted two days before Job's departure. Seven weeks later, they were returned to the regiment. Willison describes their punishment:

> After the inspecting officer had concluded his duties and before the regiment was dismissed to quarters, four men convicted by court martial were brought before it under guard. Three of these had been tried for desertion and one for insubordination. Their crimes and sentences were read to them in the hearing of the regiment and they were drummed in disgrace out of camp, one deserter to be taken to the military prison at Alton, Illinois, to work out the term of his enlistment and forfeit all pay from August 8, 1862, the date of his desertion. The other two deserters were sentenced to hard labor for six months and to forfeit $10 of each month's pay for that period.[28]

When Job Benjamin was returned to Company C of the 76th Ohio Infantry, he faced the possibility of a general court martial and certainly the disrespect of his comrades. His regiment had fought at Chickasaw Bluffs, Arkansas Post, and Vicksburg without his presence. There is no way to know if and how Job Benjamin was punished upon his return. Perhaps his only punishment was the "cold shoulders" turned his way and the general humiliation directed at him by his fellow soldiers.

In addition to whatever punishment he received, Job owed the government money for one French rifle musket ($16.79), one knapsack ($4.50), one haversack (32 cents), one canteen (37 cents), and transportation from Cairo to Memphis ($8.30).[29] It is not clear if, when, and how this money was repaid. Chances are he kept his equipment, and therefore owed the government only for the transport.

JOB BENJAMIN AFTER HIS RETURN

It is nearly impossible to determine how Job was treated by his equals and superiors upon his return to the 76th Ohio and what duties he was subsequently asked to perform. The regimental records show only bits and pieces of pertinent information. One fact is clear. Sometime between Job's return in September of 1863 and his injury in the Battle of Atlanta in the summer of 1864, he was restored to full duty.

One possibility is that Job was not restored to full duty until after February of 1864, when the War Department issued new orders which gave army commanders the power to restore to full duty those deserters whose service would be beneficial to their unit.[30]

A more likely possibility is that he was restored to full duty very soon after he was returned to his regiment in September, 1863. Company muster rolls indicate that Job was present for duty at the September/October muster and the November/December muster.[31] On January 23, 1864, he was detached from his regiment to perform some unspecified duty at their winter camp of Paint Rock, in northern Alabama.[32] In March of 1864, he was detailed to perform guard duty on an unspecified railroad.[33] These notations seem to indicate routine duties of winter camp life, suggesting that Job may have been accepted back into his regiment's normal routine rather quickly. With his regiment on the verge of a major Union movement into Tennessee, his superiors may have felt that they needed every man they had. My story will continue under this assumption.

JOB BENJAMIN MOVES NORTH TOWARD TENNESSEE

On September 23, 1863, Job Benjamin's 1st Division of the 15th Army Corps, now commanded by General Peter Joseph Osterhaus, embarked at Vicksburg for Memphis on September 30th, and on October 11th, it moved from Memphis by railroad to Corinth, Mississippi. During the months of October and November, their division led the forward advance, constantly skirmishing with the enemy in northern Alabama and Tennessee.[34] Grant describes the difficulties their division encountered along the way:

> The distance they had to cover was 330 miles through a hostile country ... guerilla bands infested the country and [much of the] South's cavalry was still in the west.[35]

High water levels made river crossings difficult, further delaying Sherman's troops. Charles Willison, a Private in Company I, described the extreme hardships they faced:

> As we neared Chattanooga the conditions were indescribably horrible. Troops and teams were being rushed to that center with the resultant congestion of the roads. Rains were constant, the muddy roads almost impassable, cut up and seemingly bottomless... Then, too, as we neared Chattanooga, where Grant's army was in a partial state of siege with his line of supplies largely controlled by the enemy, our accumulating reinforcements had to suffer with them the scarcity of food.[36]

Sherman's troops finally arrived in the vicinity of Chattanooga on November 20, 1863.[37]

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE BATTLE OF CHATTANOOGA

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Major Willard Warner) — 1st Brigade (Brigadier General Charles Robert Woods) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Peter Joseph Osterhaus) — 15th Army Corps (Major General Francis Preston Blair, Jr.), until Nov. 23, 1863; temporarily assigned to combined army corps (Major General Joseph Hooker) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General William Tecumseh Sherman).[38]

On October 17th, President Lincoln appointed Ulysses S. Grant as overall commander of all Union forces between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River. Almost immediately, Grant decided to replace Rosecrans with George Thomas, who had saved the Union army from a crushing defeat at Chickamauga. He also assigned Sherman to succeed him as commander of the Army of the Tennessee.[39] Grant himself arrived at Chattanooga on October 23rd, immediately recognized the severe shortage of supplies reaching the city, and established a vastly improved method of getting food and supplies to the troops — a sixty mile long "cracker line," as the soldiers called it.[40]

Confederate forces under Braxton Bragg commanded the high ground surrounding the city — the six mile long Missionary Ridge east of the city and the 2,000 foot summit at Lookout Mountain southwest of the city.[41]

Grant worked out new plans to break the Confederate stranglehold on Chattanooga, but rains delayed the Union armies from attacking on November 20th, 21st and 22nd. Finally, on November 23rd, Sherman's 15th Corps was in position to attack. However, one of his divisions, commanded by Peter Osterhaus and including the 76th Ohio, was delayed in crossing the Tennessee River due to high water and a broken pontoon bridge at Brown's Ferry. Because of this problem, the 76th Ohio fought the Battle of Chattanooga under the command of Joseph Hooker, thereby becoming the only body of western troops engaged in the Battle of Lookout Mountain.[42] Years later, Private Charles Willison commented on this odd twist of fate:

> These eastern troops were brave men, having seen hard and bloody service in the Army of the Potomac. But Grant had soldiered with the westerners and knew by personal experience to what extent he could rely on them.[43]

The first step of Grant's plan was to send Hooker's troops up Lookout Mountain to force the rebels from their positions there. Hooker's command was a mishmash of troops: Osterhaus' Division of the 15th Corps (Army of the Tennessee), John Geary's Division of the 12th Corps (Army of the Potomac) and Charles Cruft's Division of the 14th Corps (Army of the Cumberland). Grant recalled the difficulties they faced:

> The side of Lookout Mountain confronting Hooker's command was rugged, heavily timbered, and full of chasms, making it difficult to advance with troops, even in the absence of an opposing force.[44]

Historian Victor Hicken described the Union ascent of Lookout Mountain as "a step by step rigorous advance through gullies and ravines, and over fallen trees and rocks." [45]

Despite these obstacles, Hooker's assault on Lookout Mountain began on the morning of November 24, 1863. A heavy fog enveloped the peak that morning, prompting a war correspondent to later call this assault "The Battle Above the Clouds." [46] The 76th Ohio, within Osterhaus' Division, would provide only a supporting role in this battle. Early that morning, it was ordered to form a junction with the left flank of the lead Union division, commanded by Brigadier General John W. Geary, as it worked its way around the mountain.[47]

After crossing Lookout Creek shortly after 9 a.m., Geary's Division began their ascent into the thick fog and dense timber. Huge rocks and countless ravines forced the soldiers to constantly watch their steps to avoid falling. For nearly an hour, the advancing Union columns stumbled along the western slope of Lookout Mountain with little more than sporadic fire. Finally, at about 10:30 a.m., the firing became more regular, signaling that contact had been made with the enemy. As fighting intensified, the Union advance was slowed by reinforcing Mississippi regiments. However, outnumbered four to one, the rebel lines didn't hold for long.[48]

Shortly before noon, Job Benjamin and the 76th Ohio were sent across Lookout Creek and advanced up the mountain. As the fresh reserves of Union soldiers flanked the remaining rebel defenders and maneuvered to surround them, the Mississippian defenders surrendered in droves.[49] "When two sergeants from the Seventy-sixth Ohio sprinted ahead of their own regiment and caught up with one band of fourteen Mississippians, the Rebels meekly stopped, laid down their rifles, and raised their hands." [50] Private Charles Willison described their advance:

> We picked our way steadily through the forest, amid large boulders, the enemy giving way as rapidly as we advanced that I did not have occasion to fire more than three our four shots. While hazardous and exciting and romantic, I have always looked back upon this 'battle above the clouds,' as it has been termed, as a veritable 'picnic' compared with a good many of our less renowned engagements.[51]

Further up the mountain, Confederate defenders had now retreated to a more defensible position near the Craven's house. Blinded by fog and the smoke of battle, both sides struggled against a largely unseen foe. In the end, greater numbers and a seemingly unlimited amount of ammunition gave the battle to the Union army.[52]

Below Lookout Mountain, fellow Union soldiers watched for any sign of success, but could see very little. Occasionally, through the fog, they could see the flashes of light from the guns of the advancing troops. Many thought the advance would be a failure. Historian Victor Hicken described what happened next:

> Then, for one heart-stopping instant, the colors of a Federal regiment were seen waving from near Craven House. [A Union band] immediately broke out in a quickstep version of 'Hail to the Chief,' and in the ranks of the [Union] regiments not a few were emotionally affected.[53]

Shortly after midnight, the remaining rebel soldiers abandoned Lookout Mountain. Most retreated to nearby Missionary Ridge, still occupied by Confederate troops.[54] That night, the clouds parted, and a full moon illuminated the gory aftermath of battle. Shortly after 2 a.m., however, the moon began its passage into the earth's shadow, and for nearly 3½ hours, its face was dimmed and reddened by a deep, very nearly total, lunar eclipse. By the time of maximum eclipse just before 4 a.m., the brightly lit landscape had turned black, hiding the rebel's departure from their Union adversaries but also casting a sinister cloud over many of the disheartened soldiers.[55] As one Confederate veteran described,

> The men, wet and cold and tired and hungry, were disheartened by defeat. Disappointment had succeeded disappointment, and incapacity had turned victories into defeats. . . The moon went into eclipse and shrouded everything in almost total darkness, which to many was an omen of evil.[56]

The next morning, the Stars and Stripes were carried to the crest of Lookout Mountain, where they were proudly displayed to the Union troops in the valley below.[57]

The second part of Grant's plan was to send the remaining Union troops to scale Missionary Ridge and finally break the rebel hold on the city. Union troops were oriented as follows: Sherman's 15th Corps held the Union left flank opposite the northern edge of Missionary Ridge. Troops under Thomas' Army of the Cumberland, hoping to redeem themselves after their humiliating defeat at Chickamauga, held the Union center. Hooker's command held Lookout Mountain and therefore anchored the Union right flank.

Grant's strategy was to send Sherman's troops to assault Missionary Ridge on the northern edge. Hooker's troops would descend the north face of Lookout Mountain, cross the Chattanooga valley and attack the southern edge of Missionary Ridge, forcing the Confederates to reinforce both of their flanks. Then, Thomas' troops would assault the weakened center of the Confederate lines atop Missionary Ridge.[58]

The assault on Missionary Ridge began early on the morning of November 25, 1863. Writer John MacDonald described the early fighting:

> Throughout the morning and afternoon, Sherman launched several vigorous assaults. The fighting was fierce and often hand-to-hand, but each Union charge was ultimately turned back by the steadily strengthening Confederate right. By mid-afternoon, Hooker should have [begun mounting his assault on the south edge of Missionary Ridge], but he had been seriously delayed in getting his troops across the Chattanooga Creek ... Grant realized that if pressure was to be taken off Sherman, it could only be done by advancing Thomas' force in the center.[59]

The decisive action of the battle, and one of the most remarkable actions of the Civil War, was carried out by Thomas' troops late that afternoon.[60] After seizing the rifle pits at the base of Missionary Ridge, Union troops (with regiments oriented in a series of "V" formations with their regimental flags leading the way toward the enemy) charged up the steep rocky face of the summit against orders.[61] Historian Geoffrey C. Ward described the difficult ascent:

> Sections of the slope were so steep that the Union troops had to crawl; some men used tree branches or bayonets to haul themselves up, but they kept coming.[62]

Fortunately for the Union, the Confederate cannons had been incorrectly positioned, making it impossible for the rebel defenders to depress their cannons low enough to hit the advancing Union columns.[63]

In less than an hour, the Federals had driven the disintegrating Confederate army from the crest of Missionary Ridge. Only darkness saved the Confederates from an even more crushing defeat.[64]

While the bulk of the Union army assaulted Missionary Ridge, the 76th Ohio and the other units of Osterhaus' Division under Hooker's command laid bridges over Chattanooga Creek and began their march toward the largely undefended Rossville Gap, just across the Georgia state line.[65] As Peter Cozzens, author of *The Shipwreck of their Hopes*, explains,

> Not only was Rossville Gap critical as the break in the ridge through which passed the Ringgold road, an easy avenue into the Rebel rear, but in the tiny hamlet of Rossville itself were gathered substantial stores and a large supply train.[66]

Peter Osterhaus recognized a rare opportunity. He suggested to his commanding officer that he maneuver his forces behind the Confederate left flank and attach them from behind. Joseph Hooker conjured an even better plan. Using the resources of two other Union divisions — one to attack the Confederates from the front and the other to attack the left flank of the Confederate army — Hooker positioned Osterhaus' division so as to catch any rebels trying to flee from behind. "We've got 'em in a pen," Osterhaus shouted to his troops as they ascended the ridge.[67] Private Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio recalled the satisfying engagement:

> It was certainly a picturesque and exciting rounding up — a fit scene for a painting. Just as we reached the summit amid the noise and tumult of battle and were wheeling to sweep it up, a brigade of the enemy was coming in wild confusion down, cut off further up the ridge by our troops charging from the front. Hedged about on all sides, they became a whirling, struggling mass of panic-stricken men, signaling frantically to make us understand they surrendered.[68]

That evening, the 76th Ohio was assigned the task of marching their prisoners to the proper authorities in Chattanooga. The following morning, they returned to Rossville Gap to begin their pursuit of the retreating Confederate army.[69]

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE CHARGE UP TAYLOR'S RIDGE

General Braxton Bragg chose Ringgold, Georgia as the Confederate army's next objective. Located about 20 miles southeast of Chattanooga, Ringgold was located astride a strategically important railroad that passed through a long, narrow ridge even more imposing than Missionary Ridge. Ringgold Gap, located southeast of town between Taylor's Ridge to the south and the White Oak Mountains to the north, afforded the Western and Atlantic Railroad a pathway to Atlanta.[70]

After the Battle of Chattanooga, the 76th Ohio, still assigned to Hooker's command, moved out of Rossville toward Ringgold.[71] Their division (Osterhaus') was not only assigned to lead the march, but Wood's brigade, including the 76th Ohio, served as the advance guard. After encountering a steady stream of surrendering rebel stragglers, the advancing Union columns met a cavalry force of 200 Kentucky troopers, who delivered a long-range volley toward the Union soldiers before turning their horses and galloping away. Confederate Major General Patrick Cleburne had ordered this action to mislead the Union army into believing that only a small enemy force awaited them. It worked. Hooker decided to launch a direct attack against Ringgold Gap, where he encountered a much larger rebel force instead.[72]

A few minutes after 8 a.m. on November 27th, the 17th and 31st Missouri regiments (both from the same brigade as the 76th Ohio) walked into an ambush of rebel soldiers commanded by Colonel Hiram Granbury of Texas. In a matter of minutes, the Missouri

regiments were in frantic retreat. They didn't stop running until they reached the Union rear, and they resisted all further attempts to rally them for a counterattack.[73]

Brigadier General Charles Woods, commander of the 1st Brigade, sent the 3rd and 12th Missouri regiments forward across the same ground that their fellow Missourians had advanced and retreated just before. He also sent the 13th Illinois forward as well. This time, however, he also sent one regiment — Job Benjamin's 76th Ohio — to climb the adjacent ridge in hopes of attacking the enemy's flank.[74]

Private Charles Willison had been unable to keep up with the double-quick pace of his 76th Ohio regiment when they were brought forward, and he now found himself separated from his regiment amidst a sea of unfamiliar faces.[75] He described what he saw:

> From my position I could look back over the bottomland approaching the Gap and see our columns advancing in line of battle. It seemed like senseless exposure of brave men. They were in unobstructed and easy range of the batteries posted on the ridge in the Gap, and were mowed down in swathes by the grape and cannister that swept the field. It was simply murderous, and horrifying to look at, but the brave survivors closed their ranks and kept forward.[76]

While their comrades were severely tested by rifle and artillery fire, the 76th Ohio toiled up the steep slope, its loose stones and slippery surfaces making their climb a dangerous challenge.[77] The good fortune they had so far enjoyed in this campaign would end on this day.

Unlike the numerous mistakes and miscalculations made by the Confederate leadership at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, Confederate General Patrick Cleburne and his subordinate commanders performed splendidly at Ringgold Gap. Upon realizing that their right flank was threatened, brigade commander Lucius Polk ordered the 1st Arkansas to scale the ridge to oppose the 76th Ohio. They quickly did so, and reached the summit a mere twenty paces from the left-most companies of the Ohio regiment.[78]

The Arkansas and Ohio troops exchanged fire, and in the minutes that followed, the Confederates grew in number and extended their lines on either side of the 76th Ohio, threatening to enfilade the Ohioans from two sides. This was too much to endure; the soldiers from the 76th Ohio began to withdraw.[79]

General Polk wanted his troops to seize the Union colors, and seeing the increasingly desperate plight of the 76th Ohio, he sent the 1st Arkansas forward to claim them. Eight color bearers and two officers of the 76th Ohio were shot down while protecting the Stars and Stripes, but the Arkansans were successful in taking their regimental flag.[80] "Years afterward," Private Willison remembered, "I met a Southerner who said he had been in that battle among our opponents and that this captured banner was torn in small bits and distributed among its captors as mementos." [81]

Three hours after the Union advance guard walked unsuspectingly into ambush, the battle had deteriorated into a stalemate. Individual soldiers fired upon individual soldiers whenever and wherever they appeared. By noon, however, Union artillery had been brought up and was starting to pinpoint the rebel defenders. In the early afternoon, Confederate commanders informed Cleburne that since their army trains were now well on their way, he could withdraw his troops and make way to the east. By 2 p.m., the field belonged to Union troops.[82]

Years later in his memoirs, Grant recalled the charge up Taylor's Ridge:

> [Hooker's men attacked] Confederate General Patrick Cleburne's Division, which had taken a strong position in the adjacent hills so as to cover the retreat of the Confederate army through a narrow gorge which presents itself at that point. Just beyond the gorge, the valley is narrow and the creek is tortuous ... The attack was unfortunate and cost us some men unnecessarily.[83]

Job Benjamin's 76th Ohio suffered a fearful loss in the charge up Taylor's Ridge. In one company of twenty men, eight were killed and another eight were wounded.[84]

The loss of Chattanooga was a terrible blow to the spirit of the Confederacy. In early December, a demoralized Braxton Bragg asked to be relieved of command. On advice from Robert E. Lee, Confederate President Jefferson Davis reluctantly replaced Bragg with Joseph Johnston.[85] The following summer, Chattanooga would serve as the springboard for a Union offensive aimed at the city of Atlanta.

The weeks that followed saw the 76th Ohio marching and bivouacking in various places in northern Georgia and Alabama. Although the fighting may have ended, the misery did not.[86] Private Willison recalls:

> Rain fell almost incessantly, and it was next to impossible to move the wagon trains. We had to wait at Stevenson a full day for them to come up. Next day we made but four miles, the route taking us through an extensive swamp.[87]

Pension records indicated that during the march toward winter camp (in December of 1863), Job contracted bronchitis "from exposure to the rainy and cold weather." [88] Years later, he would cite chronic pharyngitis (sore throat) linked to this late-1863 respiratory illness as one of his medical justifications for receiving an invalid pension. [89]

On January 1, 1864, the regiment went into camp for the winter at Paint Rock, Alabama, about 15 miles southeast of present day Huntsville.[90]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN MARCHES THROUGH LOUISIANA

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 2nd Brigade (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — 4th Division (Brigadier General Steven Gano Burbridge) – 13th Army Corps (Major General Cadwallader Colder (C.C.) Washburn, July 28 to Sept. 14, 1863; Major General Edward Otho Cresap Ord, Sept. 15th to Oct. l9th; General Washburn (again), Oct. 20th to 24th; Major General Napoleon Jackson Tecumseh Dana, Oct. 25 through Jan, 1864) — Army of the Gulf (Major General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks).[91]

After a layover of more than a month near New Orleans, Samuel Kirkman and the 77th Illinois boarded the steamer *North America* on October 3, 1863 and landed at the opposite side of the river at the railroad station in Algiers, Louisiana. Late that same day, the regiment was piled into a train "like hogs" and traveled 80 miles to Brashear City, which they reached the following morning.[92]

In the next 2½ days, the regiment marched 50 miles, reaching the town of New Iberia on October 9th. After a short rest, they were ordered to backtrack 27 miles toward camp near Franklin, which they reached on October 11th.[93] During these latter activities, their brigade (the 2nd Brigade of the 4th Division of the 13th Army Corps) was commanded by Colonel David Grier, who had been promoted from regimental commander to brigade commander during the July siege of Jackson, Mississippi.[94] His command now consisted of the 77th, 97th and 130th Illinois and 48th Ohio regiments and the Mercantile Battery of Chicago.[95] William Bentley, recently promoted to the rank of Corporal, described the beauty of the Deep South:

> We found the country along the Bayou Teche [the river that passes through both New Iberia and Franklin] one of the richest and most beautiful portions of Louisiana we had yet seen. Large and fertile plantations reached back as far as the vision extended, while handsome residences, almost hidden behind the dark green foliage of trees peculiar to the south ... lined the road along which we passed.[96]

In marked contrast to Job's harrowing "autumn of '63," Samuel's was relatively easy. On October 31st, his regiment received two new flags from Peoria, replacing those lost in the assault on Vicksburg.[97] [See the photograph in Appendix A]. On that same day, the Company K Muster Roll recorded that Samuel was present. It also restated that he had been detailed to the Regimental Quartermaster on April 5th, by orders of Colonel Grier.[98] On November 24th, approximately 192 new recruits were added to the regiment to replenish its depleted numbers. Thirteen new recruits were assigned to Samuel's Company K. Some of these men were subsequently transferred to the 130th Illinois regiment.[99]

On November 26th, Thanksgiving was observed with a gathering of troops, numerous speeches, and music from several regimental brass bands. "It was one of the most cheering scenes we had seen for many a day," wrote Corporal William Bentley.[100]

The 77th Illinois remained in New Iberia until December 7th, when it began a march back to New Orleans. On December 17th, the regiment boarded a transport named the *De Molay* for Pass Cavello, Texas [near Matagorda Bay between present-day Galveston and Corpus Christi]. As the boat left the tranquil waters of the Mississippi River and entered the choppy waters of the Gulf of Mexico, many soldiers became seasick.[101] Private William Wiley recalled the trip:

> Sometime during the night when the storm was at its height I crawled out on deck thinking that I would like to see what it looked like outside. I stood there and held to the mast for a while and I thought it was a pretty wild old sight. The great waves were rolling about twice as high as our ship and each one looked like it would roll right over our ship but she would ride up over the wave and down into the trough between that wave and the next and up again over the next wave.[102]

On December 20th, they reached the destination — "a dreary, desolate sandbank known as DeCrows Point" [present day Matagorda Peninsula].[103] Corporal William Bentley described the difficulties they faced:

> While here, we felt much inconvenience for want of rations. While vast stores of 'hardtack' and kindred luxuries were piled up at New Orleans, General Banks, with a foresight for which his military administration was famous, failed to furnish his troops in Texas with the much needed supplies. To add to the discomforts of the situation, the weather was exceedingly cold for a southern climate. At night, the cold northwesters would howl across the sandy waste, and it was no uncommon thing to see the whole encampment lying prostrate on the sand.[104]

For some reason, the November/December Company K Muster Records showed that Samuel was absent on the day of roll call.[105] Since there is no evidence of disciplinary action taken against him, perhaps he was merely sick that day.

As the year 1863 drew to a close, Samuel Kirkman was on the sandy shore of Texas and Job Benjamin was at winter camp at Paint Rock, Alabama.

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1864 (Part I)

JOB BENJAMIN VISITS HOME

> Few who yet live have forgotten that bitterly cold New Year's Day of 1864, when the whole country suffered. Far south as we were, it struck us severely as we started to put up our tent-covered shanties.[1]

These recollections of Private Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio were echoed throughout the nation. Over 700 miles to the southwest, Private William Wiley of the 77th Illinois also described the arctic grip felt on the windswept coast of Texas:

> On the day before New Years we were struck by what the southerners call a northerner... It became very cold, the wind blew our tents all down the first nights which raised a terrible uproar . . . Some tried to keep warm by building fires in their tents and by the time the storm was over their tents, clothes, blankets and everything was as black as soot. . . [To] help our discomfort the storm lasting so long and the water being so rough they could not unload any supplies for us and our rations ran very short.[2]

But cold weather was not the greatest threat to the Union cause in early 1864. With the enlistment terms of many volunteer soldiers about to expire, the United States government was forced to offer a number of incentives to ensure that the war effort would continue unabated. Charles Willison described one set of inducements:

> As an inducement, [a] $402 government bounty and thirty days' furlough were offered to all who would re-enlist.[3]

Historian Bell Irvin Wiley described the re-enlistment issue on a larger scale:

> With the end of the season of active campaigning in 1863, authorities high and low applied tremendous pressure on the veterans to re-enlist. As a result of the combined influences of propaganda, patriotism, bounty and furloughs, an epidemic of re-enlistment passed through the armies during the following winter, with regiment after regiment going through the "veteranizing" process of signing up, returning north amid a fanfare of public receptions, visiting homefolk and then heading south for the all-out campaigns of 1864 and 1865.[4]

On January 4, 1864, about two-thirds of the 76th Ohio succumbed to this pressure and re-enlisted. In return for their dedicated service, the entire regiment was granted leave in late January and was returned to Ohio for a period of about six weeks. On January 30th, the regiment moved via Nashville, Louisville, and Cincinnati to Columbus, and on February 8th took the train for Newark, Ohio. The regiment disembarked one mile from the city, and marched into town in column formation.[5]

After nearly two years of fighting, the regiment had been severely reduced in number — from 962 to less than 300 soldiers. A large and enthusiastic crowd of Newark residents were on hand to welcome their boys home. Speeches were made and the soldiers enjoyed a well-deserved meal at the City Hall.[6] Charles Willison fondly remembered his train stop:

> Never will I forget our reception at Massillon [Ohio]. The population turned out en masse to meet us at the depot, with bands and guard of home militia. The train had no more than stopped till we were almost carried bodily out of the car. When finally we were able to form in line, the procession, headed by the band and militia, marched to the principal hotel of the city, where a banquet was in waiting.[7]

With joyful enthusiasm, the soldiers were then furloughed to their homes. However, all good things must come to an end, and this leave from war was no exception. Approximately a month

later, on March 15, 1864, the 76th Ohio regrouped and began its long journey southward again. As before, the regiment passed through Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville and Huntsville to reassemble at their old camp at Paint Rock, Alabama.[8]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN BEGINS THE RED RIVER CAMPAIGN

To begin his account of the Red River Campaign, Corporal William Bentley confesses:

> It now becomes our painful duty to write a chapter full of disaster to the 77th and to the 13th Army Corps — a chapter which we would gladly blot from the pages of this history. But the events transpired, and the record must be made.[9]

The French invasion of Mexico and the fall of Mexico City during the summer of 1863 concerned the Lincoln administration. In particular, they feared a possible alliance between the Confederate government and the new emperor of Mexico, named Maximilian.[10] To counter this, a plan was developed to send troops across Louisiana, capture Shreveport, and then invade Texas. As an added benefit, the Union might be able to capture some cotton and send it back to mills in the North.[11]

Chosen to lead this operation was the senior commander of the Department of the Gulf, Major General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks. Banks was a Massachusetts politician whose claim to fame had been the capture of Port Hudson, downriver from Vicksburg, in July of 1863. Despite receiving the “thanks of Congress” for this, Banks’ success at Port Hudson was a rather hollow victory, since the fall of Vicksburg just five days earlier forced Port Hudson to surrender more so than any action taken by Banks.[12]

On February 22, 1864, Samuel and the 77th Illinois left the sandy shore of Texas, boarded the steamer *St. Mary*, crossed the Gulf of Mexico and landed at Algiers, Louisiana on February 24th. The following day, the regiment proceeded to Brashear City and northward along the Bayou Teche River.[13] The Company Muster Roll for January/February, 1864 showed Samuel present and still detached to the regimental quartermaster.[14]

The Red River Campaign began in early March of 1864. Banks had at his command detachments from the 13th, 16th, and 17th Army Corps, black regiments from the African Corps, and his own 19th Army Corps.[15] Also important to the Red River Campaign were naval vessels from Rear Admiral David Porter’s Mississippi Squadron.[16]

On March 25th, Banks’ soldiers joined other forces commanded by A.J. Smith and Admiral Porter’s gunboats near Alexandria, Louisiana. Union forces, now approximately 30,000 strong, immediately began marching northwestward, never straying far from the river and the safety of gunboat support. In early April, Banks’ army left the security of the river and turned westward, following the land between the Red and Sabine Rivers. The landscape consisted of low rolling hills and dense pine woods interrupted only by a few narrow roads.[17] The heavily wooded terrain made the deployment of artillery pieces very difficult.[18] The army's intended route, known as the Old Stage Road, led through the towns of Pleasant Hill and Mansfield on the way to Shreveport.[19]

Marching over 300 miles in less than a month, the footsore and weary soldiers of the 77th Illinois arrived at Pleasant Hill, Louisiana on April 7, 1864. During the long march, they had become aware of the fact that the soldiers of the 19th Army Corps were given preferential treatment by Banks. This angered the other soldiers, who sarcastically referred to them as “Banks’ pets.” As Corporal William Bentley recalled:

> They led the march, which gave them the greatest advantage in foraging for food. But as soon as the sound of battle was heard, the pets were halted, and the 13th Corps was sent to the front.[20]

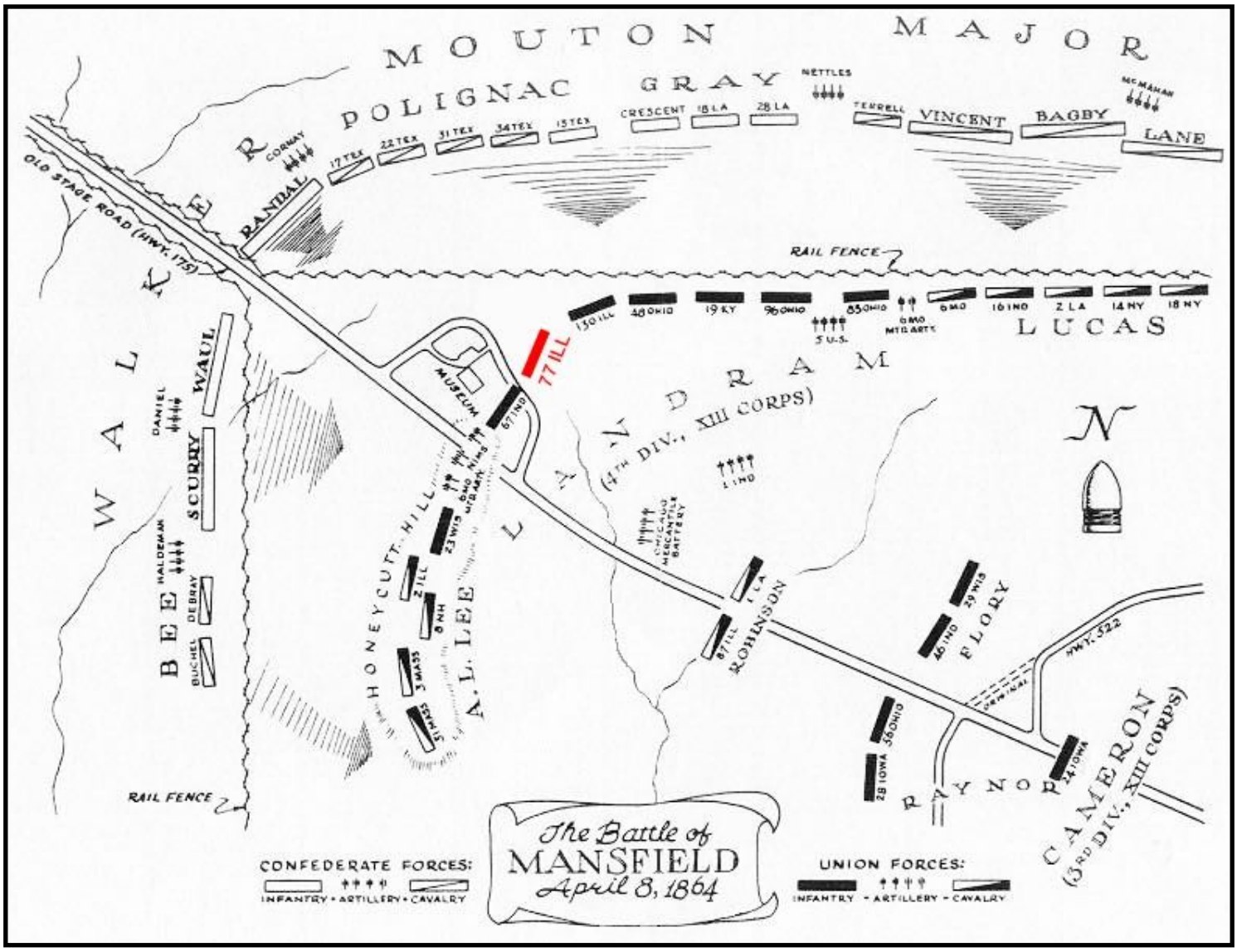


Figure 24: The regimental positions at the Battle of Mansfield (Sabine Cross Roads) superimposed on contemporary landmarks. The position of the 77th Illinois (in red) lies near the site of the present day museum.

Courtesy of the 1994 "Mansfield SCA Tour Guide," published for the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Office of State Parks, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF MANSFIELD

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Lieutenant Colonel Lysander R. Webb, until April 8, 1864; Major John A. Burdett, after April 8th) — 1st Brigade (Colonel Frank Emerson) — 4th Division (Colonel William Jennings Landram) — detachment of the 13th Army Corps (Brigadier General Thomas Edward Greenfield Ransom, wounded April 8, 1864; Brigadier General Robert Alexander Cameron).[21]

After eating a hasty breakfast in the wee hours of April 8, 1864, Samuel Kirkman's brigade began marching at 3 a.m. to relieve Union cavalrymen under Brigadier General Albert Lindley Lee. "The march was slow and tedious," William Bentley remembered, "as the night was dark."[22] As the sun rose, the brigade met up with Lee's cavalry and formed their lines at the edge of a field one-half to three-quarters of a mile from the rebel defenders. Lee began sending small

parties of men to engage the enemy. The brigade commander's own 23rd Wisconsin and the 67th Indiana led the way, supported by the 19th Kentucky and the 77th Illinois.[23] William Bentley recalled the early encounters:

> This advance was through a heavy pine country, quite undulating, and as the enemy — which seemed to be only a force of cavalry — were driven from one hill, they would take a position on the next.[24]

At about this same time, the 77th Illinois, held immediately behind in reserve, lost its commander, Lieutenant Colonel Lysander R. Webb of Peoria, to a Confederate sharpshooter. Shot in the head and killed instantly, Webb was described by Captain John D. Rouse of Company G as "an excellent officer, eminently courteous and social, who commanded the respect and esteem of all who came in contact with him. His loss is deeply felt by his comrades in arm." [25] Replacing Colonel Webb as commander of the 77th Illinois was Major John A. Burdett of Knoxville.[26]

William Wiley also described the early stages of the battle:

> We drove the rebels from one position after another for several miles through the pine timber along the course of the Shreveport Wagon Road. The rebels were mounted and when we would press them too hard they would fall back to their horses, remount and ride away until they would find another good position where they would make another stand and wait for us to come up and then give us the best they had in store.[27]

About mid-morning, Lee asked for fresh units to support the fatigued soldiers who had fought the initial skirmishes. Brigadier General Thomas Ransom, commander of the Union army's 13th Corps, ordered Colonel Joseph Vance's 2nd Brigade, comprised of the 130th Illinois, 48th Ohio, 83rd Ohio, and 96th Ohio regiments, into position to the right of Colonel Frank Emerson's 1st Brigade. This was achieved by 1:30 p.m.[28]

Retreat had so far been the rule of Major General Richard Taylor's Confederate army of 8,800 men during the Union army's advance through Louisiana. However, near the small town of Mansfield, the Confederates decided that they had retreated far enough and stood their ground.[29] Taylor selected Moss Plantation, about three miles southeast of Mansfield, as his army's new defensive stand. His force consisted of two infantry divisions and three Texas cavalry brigades.[30] Taylor positioned his rebel army just inside the woods on either side of the Old Stage Road, at a strategic communications hub known as Sabine Cross Roads.[31] Opposing Vance's 2nd Brigade were three Louisiana regiments commanded by Colonel Henry Gray. Facing Emerson's 1st Brigade (including the 77th Illinois) were Texas cavalry brigades commanded by a Frenchman named Camille J. Prince de Polignac.[32]

Historian Arthur Bergeron, Jr. describes the placement of Union forces:

> The Union line soon formed a 90-degree angle, one arm stretching south of the Old Stage Road and the other to the east ... In all about 5,700 Union soldiers were on the battlefield.[33]

The Union infantry regiments (from the southwest to the northeast corner) were the 23rd Wisconsin, 67th Indiana, 77th Illinois, 130th Illinois, 48th Ohio, 19th Kentucky, 96th Ohio, and the 83rd Ohio. Cavalry units flanked the infantry regiments on either side. Artillery units were positioned astride the Old Stage Road (a.k.a. the Mansfield-Pleasant Hill Road) between the 23rd Wisconsin and the 67th Indiana regiments.[34] (See Figure 24).

Taylor had entrenched his Confederate troops so as to form an obvious trap — obvious, that is, to everyone except Banks, who ordered two brigades of the 13th Corps to advance directly into it.[35] According to Corporal William Bentley, corps commander Ransom protested the manner in which Union soldiers and artillery were placed; he felt they were too scattered

and unconsolidated for battle. When ordered by Banks to move forward, Ransom reportedly remarked, “that will finish me.” [36]

Ransom’s fears were justified. At approximately 4 p.m., Taylor received orders from his superior (Major General Edmund Kirby Smith) to attack the Union positions while daylight remained.[37] Two Confederate brigades commanded by Brigadier General Alfred Mouton stepped over the split rail fence that separated the woods in which they had assembled from the barren field ahead of them. They arranged themselves into several long lines of soldiers and began their advance on the Union columns less than a half mile away.[38] Historian Arthur Bergeron, Jr. described the rebel charge:

> As the Louisianans swept into the open field and easily drove the enemy skirmishers back upon their main line, the Federals poured forth a heavy fire of musketry and artillery into Mouton’s charging masses. One Confederate recorded his recollections of this fire in his diary, noting that “The balls and grape shot crashing about us whistled terribly and plowed into the ground and beat our soldiers down even as a storm tears down the trees in a forest.” [39]

Private William Wiley described the early Union response to the rebel attack:

> Just as the rebels were coming up the hill in our front we made a stand in the edge of the timber and poured such a withering fire into their ranks that they gave way and fell back in our front but they swung around and flanked the left of our line doubling it back onto us. [We] were ordered to fall back across the open field and form a new line in rear of our Chicago Mercantile Battery. . .[40]

Maintaining their position on the Union’s original line of defense were the artillery batteries of the 2nd Massachusetts and 6th Missouri — eight guns in all. Wiley noted the bravery of these artillery units:

> [They] stood bravely by their guns and worked them for all that was in them loading with grape and shrapnel and as the rebels came closer filling their six guns to the muzzle with minie balls that mowed the rebels down by the hundreds and continued the fight until they were driven from their guns at the point of the bayonet.[41]

The 77th Illinois’ new battle line near the Chicago Mercantile Battery didn’t protect them for long. William Wiley described the Union army’s rapidly deteriorating situation:

> When we fell back from this position all was confusion. Our lines were so doubled up that the men of the different regiments were all mixed up and the regimental officers could not get their men together.[42]

Corporal William Bentley described in similar detail this unfortunate sequence of events:

> The rebels threw their line upon our flanks, telescoping our line, and as the timber was densely studded with underbrush, our boys, in many instances, were entirely surrounded before they knew it. The line being flanked — the movement striking our extreme right — the Regiments fought by detail and detail were defeated. As the timber was dense with underbrush, and the line of the enemy constantly advancing, surging around farther and farther on our flank, our troops were placed in the dilemma of having the enemy in front and rear. The 77th had fired several rounds before the regiments on the left had fired a shot. The column thrown into confusion, hundreds of the boys captured, the enemy pressing us from all quarters, what men were able to get out of the tangle fell back [and formed] a line on the batteries which had not as yet fired a shot.[43]

In the confusion of retreat, supply wagons that had earlier been brought forward by Banks blocked the narrow road, trapping supply wagons, hundreds of small arms, nearly 1,000 horses and mules, and 20 artillery pieces of the Chicago Mercantile and [Captain] Nims’ Batteries [the latter officially known as the 2nd Massachusetts Battery].[44] Private Wiley described this unfortunate situation:

> The rebels soon brought their lines around and had us completely surrounded and the narrow road through the pine timber was completely blocked up with our [wagon] trains... The road being thus blocked it was impossible to get our artillery up to the front or get that away which had been gotten up and was not already captured by the enemy.[45]

Corporal William Bentley added:

> This was a sad loss to the brave men who had so long handled these guns. The Nims Battery had participated in 30 battles without losing a gun, and now to lose them all, filled the boys with the deepest regret.[46]

Captain John D. Rouse of Company G summarized the overall battle:

> Here began one of the most terrific fights yet recorded. Bravely and well did the old 4th Division stand up to the work here for more than one hour ... The slaughter on both sides was fearful. General Ransom was dangerously wounded. Colonels Emerson and Vance, commanding respectively the 1st and 2nd Brigades of our Division, were wounded and captured. The 77th Illinois lost 10 officers out of 16 engaged. Our Brigade lost 32 commissioned officers out of 68 line and field.[47]

13th Corps Commander Ransom was wounded as his Union soldiers were overwhelmed. Command of the corps was transferred to 3rd Division commander Robert Alexander Cameron.[48] Captain Rouse went on to describe the general sentiment of the 77th Illinois:

> If the whole force had been at the front and the train at the rear, we might report a glorious victory instead of this. Somebody (and the army knows who) is very much to blame for pushing one small Brigade nine miles ahead of the supporting column in the very face of ten times their number ... I never saw troops stand up so well under such a tremendous fire. Nothing at Vicksburg ever equalled it.[49]

The infamous orders that, in reality, sent two small Union brigades forward was also described in the regimental history of the 48th Ohio, as follows:

> Seven miles back from the battle-ground the Nineteenth Corps was encamped, numbering five or six thousand men, and fifteen miles back, Gen. A. J. Smith, with seven or eight thousand. The main army was in camp, out of supporting distance, to the number of thirteen or fourteen thousand men, while the battle was fought on our side with twenty-four hundred, besides the cavalry, and we had opposed to us an army of ten thousand rebels.[50]

Although the Confederates suffered heavy casualties themselves, they still outflanked and routed the Union army that they met on the battlefield that day. The effect of the battle was catastrophic as far as the 13th Corps was concerned. In the Battle of Sabine Cross Roads (known as the Battle of Mansfield by the Confederates), the 77th Illinois suffered 9 dead (including its commanding officer), 17 wounded, 2 missing, and 143 captured.[51] Those who were captured — including one of my ancestral soldiers, Jacob LaFollette — spent more than 13 months in a rebel stockade at Camp Ford in Tyler, Texas.[52] Read more about their prisoner of war experience in Chapter 1864 (Part III). Historian Victor Hicken summed up the Union defeat:

> The Battle of Sabine Cross Roads was probably more vicious than any fought in the entire Red River campaign . . . The Union lost 2,235 in dead, wounded and missing, as well as 20 guns and 250 wagons.[53]

For the Confederate army, it was one of their last major field victories of the war.[54]

During the night of April 8-9, the Union army withdrew approximately 20 miles to the southeast. Badly shaken by the previous day's defeat, Banks still failed to correct the faulty positioning of his troops, scattering brigades on a cleared plateau near the town of Pleasant Hill. Taking advantage of the demoralized Union army, Confederate General Richard Taylor

planned to pursue the Union army on April 9th and force their continued retreat. This set the stage for the Battle of Pleasant Hill.[55]

April 9, 1864 brought the second battle in as many days, but the 13th Corps, decimated and demoralized by their mismanagement at the hands of Banks, was ordered to the rear of the fighting. Ironically, many of the Confederate troops that pursued the Federals and fought in that battle were commanded by Brigadier General Thomas J. Churchill, who had surrendered Arkansas Post to McClernand's Union army 14 months earlier. Taylor's plan would exploit the Federal's scattered positions by sending Major General John G. Walker's division to attack the Union army after Churchill's division worked its way around the Union's left flank.[56]

Although the plan was excellent, Churchill's men were unable to outflank the 12,000 men from the Union army's 16th and 19th Corps. Serious fighting ensued when the Confederate troops ran headlong into these two Union corps.[57]

Although the Union forces were victorious in the Battle of Pleasant Hill, Banks acted as if they had lost, and ordered another retreat. Union Generals Smith and McClernand, whose forces had been in hot pursuit of the enemy, were ordered to retreat to Alexandria. At first, both Smith and McClernand pretended that they never received the orders to retreat, but after the third such order, they reluctantly obeyed. Smith begged that he be allowed to remain long enough to bury their dead and care for their wounded, but Banks would not reverse or delay his order. As Corporal Bentley described: "With tears in his eyes, [Smith] was obliged to leave his men who had fallen on the battlefield to the tender mercies of the rebels." [58]

The Union soldiers never forgave Banks. They referred to him privately as "Corporal Banks." Dr. George Lucas, Surgeon in Chief of the 16th Corps, wrote:

> It is impossible to measure the indignation of this army against General Banks. Everybody sits up to the "wee sma' hours" over the matter — the profane to weave new curses about his head and the moral few to chime in with hearty amens.[59]

Corporal Bentley added, "Incompetency, thy name is General Banks!" [60]

Because of Bank's inept command, the Red River campaign was a dismal failure. Only because of the bravery and determination of the veteran Union troops was total disaster averted. Nevertheless, these two battles essentially ended any hope that Union strategists had for taking Shreveport and using it as a springboard to invade Texas.

Sabine Cross Roads

Attributed to Billy R. M. Fifer, Co. C, 77 Illinois Vol. Submitted by David Clemens of Monterey Peninsula College, California, who found it among genealogical papers kept by his grandmother.[61]

Twas on the eighth of April,
In Eighteen Sixty-four,
A day to be remembered,
By the thirteenth army corps.

From pleasant hill at two o'clock,
Before the break of day,
The fourth division took the front,
And boldly led the way.

With General Ransom in command,
We did not fear to go,
And meet the reb Dick Taylor,
And charge upon the foe.

The night was dark and cloudy,
The stars refused their light,
Yet everyone seemed cheerful,
They felt their cause was right.

The thought of home and downy bed,
And wished their friends secure,
And felt twas only for their rights,
Such hardships they'd endure.

At length the dawn of day appeared,
And soon the sun arose,
And many that beheld its light,
Ne'er seen that evening close.

At six o'clock that morning,
The rebs we overtook,
And soon began to skirmish,
Close by a running brook.

They killed Lieutenant Col. Webb,
Quite early in the day,
And others dead and wounded,
Upon the field did lay.

Till one o'clock that afternoon,
We drove them through the pines,
When Gen. Price with his command,
Did reinforce their lines.

Likewise Dick Taylor, Kirby Smith,
And Monton lay in sight,
All ready now for action,
And anxious for a fight.

One of the Sixth Missouri scouts,
Came passing to our right,
He told us that in half an hour,
We might expect a fight.

He said he'd been where he could see,
The rebels forming lines,
And all that hid them from our view,
Was a narrow strip of pines.

Their force he said was very large,
And on us soon they'd be,
And if we did not quick get help,
A hot time we would see.

This was a time that tried the nerves,
Of men as true as steel,
They knew the time was close at hand,
When rebel lead they'd feel.

The 4th division still in front,
And no relief in sight,
We slung our knapsacks in a pile,
And rushed into the fight.

To meet such heavy forces,
And no relief at hand,
It seemed to us bad management,
By those in high command.

But Gen. Ransom true and brave,
Would never disobey,
When ordered front with his command,
He boldly led the way.

The roar of musketry in front,
And cannon from our rear,
Dealt death among the rebel ranks,
To them it was severe.

The 23rd Wisconsin,
To their honor be it said,
They fought with desperation,
While round them lay their dead.

The 67th hoosier boys,
Show patriotic grit,
And when out numbered six to one,
They did not like to quit.

The 77th Illinois,
Great bravery they did show,
With leveled guns and deadly aim,
They laid the rebels low.

The 130th Sucker boys,
Whose bravery ever shines,
Sent death and great destruction,
Into the rebel lines.

The 96th Ohio,
Stood bravely to the work,
And not a man among them,
Did seem disposed to shirk.

Their noble colonel soon was killed,
So awful to behold,
His name shall shine in history,
Like letters wrote with gold.

His motto was his country's rights,
A man both great and good,
His principle was justice,
He sealed it with his blood.

The buckeye boys of the 83rd,
Cannot be praised too high,
They fought till fight was useless,
They were compelled to fly.

The 19th Kentucky,
All honor to that state,
They showed a boldness unsurpassed,
And met a cruel fate.

The 48th Ohio,
Was posted on their right,
And never did a regiment,
Show better blood for fight.

In truth the whole division,
Did bravely stand the fire,
Till overwhelming numbers,
Compelled them to retire.

Their noble Col. Landrum,
Who led us on the field,
Was never known to falter,
He did not like to yield.

He viewed the lines from right to left,
He saw they could not stand,
So thick and fast were falling,
His more than spartan band.

Great praise to Gen. Ransom,
He did command our corps,
To gain the day and save his men,
No General could do more.

But now the day to us was lost,
We saw that we were beat,
And everyone now for himself,
Did hastily retreat.

The 3rd Division just as good,
As ever fired a gun,
Came up too late to save the day,
They too did have to run.

The 19th corps of yankee boys,
Came up on double quick,
They formed their lines in gallant style,
And held the rebs in check.

Such volleys from their muskets,
I never heard before,
All honor to the 19th boys,
They saved the 13th corps.

And now I've told you of the 8th,
And of our hasty flight,
To pleasant hill where Gen. Smith,
Was ready for a fight.

The rebs came up he mowed them down,
Of victory we will boast,
He drove them back he gained the 9th,
He saved what we had lost.

All honor to his noble name,
Of him we'd ever boast,
Had it not been for Gen. Smith,
Both corps would have been lost.

And now my song is ended,
I hope 'tis not in vain,
And if the eighth to us was lost,
The eighth to us was gain.

SAMUEL KIRKMAN RETREATS TO BATON ROUGE

Corporal William Bentley described the days following the battles of Sabine Cross Roads and Pleasant Hill:

> At midnight, after the close of the battle, the retreat began. How different from the advance! The 13th Army Corps was literally cut to pieces. The 4th Division was a mere shadow of its former self. The 77th, and some other regiments, were almost annihilated. With feelings of sadness, mingled with indignation, the shattered remains of that army turned their faces from the scene of disaster and began their toilsome march in the direction of the Mississippi.[62]

On the evening of April 9th, the same day as the battle of Pleasant Hill, the 77th Illinois began a 35-mile march to Grand Ecore, Louisiana, where Union gunboats could offer them greater protection. Private William Wiley described the march:

> We were badly worn out. I had marched for two nights and two days barefooted and bare headed. My feet were so swollen I could hardly walk during the last night. . . A great many of our wounded were being hauled back in the ambulances and wagons and the poor fellows were having a hard time of it and we could hear their moans and cries as they were hauled along on that weary march and many one of them died that might have lived if they could have had proper care.[63]

Upon arrival [at Grand Ecore], fortifications made from logs and dirt were quickly constructed to guard against a possible counterstrike by rebel soldiers. Union troops remained there until the afternoon of April 22nd, when they resumed their southeastern march.[64]

On April 23rd, Confederate General Taylor tried to trap the Union army between the Red and Cane Rivers, in an engagement that would become known as the Battle of Monett's Ferry.[65] When the 19th, 13th, 16th, and 17th Corps reached the Cane River, they found the enemy entrenched on the south bluff of the river, trying to prevent them from crossing. Union shelling began and lasted about an hour, during which time the 13th and part of the 19th Corps marched upriver two miles and crossed the waist-deep waters. After marching a short distance through the timber, they were met again by enemy pickets. However, they overcame this new obstacle after a short time and the march resumed.[66] Harassed daily by the enemy, they reached Alexandria, Louisiana on April 25, 1864.

In Alexandria, Banks ordered Union reinforcements to assist engineers in constructing a 750-foot wide dam to raise the level of the water to a sufficient height to extricate the Union gunboats, left stranded and vulnerable by low water levels.[67] Constructed in just ten days by an ingenious Wisconsin engineer named Colonel Joseph Bailey and the muscle of 3,000 soldiers, the Red River dam would become famous in the history of military engineering.[68] By May 13, 1864, the Union fleet had safely passed the obstacle. Had the dam not been constructed, the fleet would have almost certainly been destroyed by rebel forces.[69]

The enemy continued to pursue the retreating Union soldiers. On May 16th, artillery batteries from North and South exchanged fire near Marksville. William Wiley describes the skirmish:

> They made quite a noise for awhile. The rebels had got round on our flank and let loose on our batteries as they were passing over the open prairie killing some of our horses and dismounting some guns. But our men wheeled into position limbered up their guns and gave them all they wanted of it . . .[70]

On May 18th, the rebels caught up with them at the Atchafalaya River and another engagement took place, fought mostly by A.J. Smith's combined 16th and 17th
Corps. This final engagement of the Red River Campaign would come to be known as the Yellow Bayou or Bayou de Glaise. On May 21st, Union troops reached the mighty Mississippi

River, and began a march downriver to Morganza.[71] On May 22nd, Colonel Grier and others who had left the regiment in December to go home and enlist new soldiers rejoined the battle-worn 77th Illinois. Forty new soldiers had been recruited, and their training at the hands of the veteran soldiers would now commence.[72] On the evening of May 24th, the 77th Illinois boarded the steamer *Colonel Cowles* and the next day left for Baton Rouge, which they reached on the morning of May 26, 1864.[73] The Red River Campaign was finally over!

Once encamped at Baton Rouge, life transformed itself from the threats of war to the routine of camp. The paymaster appeared with two months pay. Soldiers caught up with reading the news and letters from home. Furloughs were granted to some.[74] The March/April Company K Muster roll showed Samuel to be absent (perhaps on furlough) and also indicated that on March 15th, he had been "promoted" to the Brigade Quartermaster by order of Lieutenant Colonel John Cowen.[75] (See Figure 25). Colonel Cowen, from the 19th Kentucky, had succeeded Colonel Frank Emerson as 1st Brigade commander when Emerson was wounded and captured.[76] The 77th Illinois remained at Baton Rouge until July.[77]

THE UNION'S NEW GRAND STRATEGY

Following the debacle at Chattanooga, the Confederate Army of Tennessee also changed its commander, from Braxton Bragg to Joseph E. Johnston. This was a popular choice with the Confederate soldiers and officers, but not a popular choice to President Jefferson Davis, who personally disliked Johnston. During the winter months, however, Johnston transformed a poorly fed and demoralized rebel army into an effective fighting machine once more.[78]

On March 3, 1864, Grant was ordered to Washington, D.C. to receive the commission of Lieutenant General, the first person to receive that rank since George Washington.

With his successes at Fort Donelson, Vicksburg and Chattanooga, Ulysses Grant had gained a tremendous reputation, and on March 17th he was placed in command of all Union land forces, east and west.[79] With Grant's departure, Sherman assumed command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, thereby directing all principal military operations in the western theater of the war.[80]

Grant's strategy was to move against the Confederacy in two powerful and unrelenting offensives. In the East, Grant would personally direct the Army of the Potomac against Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. In the West, Grant wanted to destroy Johnston's Army of Tennessee and capture Atlanta, an important manufacturing city and railroad junction.[81]

With the departure of Grant, command of the western Union forces fell to Sherman, who had led his 15th Corps through the battles of Shiloh, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga.[82] Now, Sherman had at his command three powerful armies, containing nearly 100,000 men — the Union Army of the Cumberland (60,773 men commanded by George Thomas), the Army of the Tennessee (24,467 men commanded by James B. McPherson) and the Army of the Ohio (13,559 men commanded by John M. Schofield). Private Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio described two of the principal generals:

K | 77 | Ill.

Samuel Kirkman

Pvt, Co. K, 77 Reg't Illinois Infantry.

Appears on

Company Muster Roll

for Mch & Apl, 1864.

Present or absent Absent

Stoppage, $ 100 for

Due Gov't, $ 100 for

Remarks: Detailed to Q.M. by order of Col Cowen Com Brigade Mch 15. 64

Book mark:

Joseph

(368) Copyist.

Figure 25: A copy of Samuel Kirkman's Special Muster Roll for March-April, 1864 which notes his new assignment to the Brigade Quartermaster. From the National Archives.

> As we passed through Big Shanty I recall noticing Generals Sherman and McPherson conferring together on the porch of one of the residences, and the impression each made on my mind as I observed them in conversation. Sherman, tall, lithe, careless and plain in dress, restless, nervous, and decisive in his movements — McPherson, dignified and commanding in person, and trig and immaculate in uniform, with all the insignia of his rank. Both were regarded as skillful, brave leaders — very popular with their troops, the utmost confidence existing between the two generals, and between them and the men under their command.[83]

Opposing the Union armies was a Confederate force of only about 53,000 men.[84] General Johnston and his lieutenants could only hope to slow Sherman's advance and perhaps lure him into making a major mistake that would further erode Northern support for the war and swing the fall presidential election against Lincoln.[85]

The major mistake never came. Sherman, who had surveyed parts of Georgia earlier in his career, planned and executed a masterful campaign against Atlanta between the months of May and September, 1864.[86]

JOB BENJAMIN BREAKS CAMP AND MARCHES TOWARD ATLANTA

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel William Burnam Woods) — 1st Brigade (Brigadier General Charles Robert Woods, until July 15th; Colonel Milo Smith, July 15th to August 18th) —1st Division (Brigadier General Peter Joseph Osterhaus, February 6th to July 15th; Brigadier General C. R. Woods, July 15th to August 18th) — 15th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander Logan, until July 22, 1864; Brigadier General Morgan Lewis Smith, July 22nd to July 27th) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General James Birdseye McPherson, until his death on July 22, 1864; Major General John Logan, July 22nd to July 27th)[87]

After nearly six weeks in camp at Paint Rock, Alabama, Job Benjamin and the 76th Ohio broke camp on May 1, 1864 and marched with the division for Chattanooga, Tennessee. At Bridgeport, the regiment was presented with a new strand of colors from the citizens of Newark, Ohio. The troops arrived at Chattanooga on May 6th.[88] During the grand march southward to Atlanta, the 76th Ohio was assigned to the 1st Brigade of the 1st Division of the 15th Army Corps of James B. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee, Sherman was in overall command of all Union armies.[89]

The following day — May 7, 1864 — the march to Atlanta began, following the tracks of the Western and Atlantic railroad, which also served as the Union army's supply line.[90] Sherman had at his disposal 100,000 men in seven army corps and one cavalry corps.[91]

When the Union troops met their first serious opposition the following day at Dalton, Georgia, Sherman sent McPherson's Army (including the 76th Ohio) on a right flanking march around the rebel positions to the rail town of Resaca.[92] On May 9th, Union soldiers moved through Snake Creek Gap, skirmishing with the enemy and fortifying their positions all the while.[93] This maneuver surprised the rebel army. In his memoirs, Sherman expressed his belief that had McPherson attacked the rebel army immediately at Snake Creek Gap, he would likely have inflicted serious damage to Johnston's rebel army and its store of supplies.[94] Such a quick assault, however, was never attempted.

The rebels hurriedly built fortified lines, which came under Union attack on May 13th.[95] The following day, May 14th, both armies faced each other north and west of Resaca, Georgia. The Union's far left flank was vulnerable to attack, and at 4 p.m., Johnston ordered rebel forces to launch an attack, crush this portion of the Union line, and then move on to Snake Creek Gap to cut off Sherman's supply lines. But the Union army was also aware of Confederate troop movements and they too recognized a similar weakness along the rebel's

left flank on the opposite end of the field. They launched their own offensive at 4 p.m., sending two brigades of the 15th Corps across Camp Creek toward Resaca, one of which was commanded by Charles Woods and included the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. After re-forming their lines on the other side of the creek, the Federals charged across the fields under heavy enemy fire and gained a footing on the first line of hills west of Resaca.[96] This lodgment of troops, combined with news that the Union army had erected a pontoon bridge below Resaca that would further threaten their left flank, forced the Confederate leadership to evacuate their position once again and flee southward, ever closer to Atlanta.[97] The Union army continued to press forward, despite heavy rains that would hinder their progress throughout the campaign.[98]

The next major engagement of the Atlanta Campaign took place at New Hope Church, near Dallas, Georgia. An intense battle, largely involving the Army of the Cumberland's 20th Corps, took place on May 25th and, to a lesser extent, for several days thereafter.[99]

On May 26th, John Logan's 15th Corps, including the 76th Ohio, moved south into the town of Dallas, where it met an entrenched rebel corps commanded by William J. Hardee. During the night, the Union soldiers worked to construct their own makeshift defenses.[100] For the first time during the Civil War (at least in the western theater) armies on both sides were now in the habit of building breastworks, advancing beyond them, and then entrenching once again. In the past, this maneuver was only undertaken during a siege, such as at Vicksburg.[101]

Because of faulty communications, one rebel division on the left flank of Hardee's Corps mistakenly left their trenches late in the afternoon of May 28th and attacked the Union's 15th Army Corps.[102] Albert Castel, author of *Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign* describes the ferocity of the rebel assault:

> The Federals, whose fortifications along this part of the front consist of a double tier of log-and-dirt ramparts, mow the Floridians and Kentuckians down by the hundreds: "a heap of human beings, one over the other, writhing in their blood," is how Private John Bueguel of the 3rd Missouri describes it.[103]

Because of the Union's strong defenses, the rebel assault was repulsed, "leaving many [Confederates] dead on the field, some of them within fifty yards of the works in front of the 76th Ohio." [104]

On June 1st, the 15th Corps moved to their left, passed the densely wooded country near New Hope Church, and then proceeded to Acworth, where it rejoined the important rail supply line from Chattanooga.[105] The heavy rains had returned again, making the roads even more impassable than normal.[106] On June 9th, Sherman advanced his armies to the foot of three mountains north and west of Marietta, where Confederate forces were now positioned.[107] The rain finally slackened on June 14th as the Union army reconnoitered the enemy's movements. The rains returned on June 17th and 18th, making further advances nearly impossible.[108] Wrote Sherman:

> This is the 19th day of rain, and the prospect of fair weather is as far off as ever. The roads are impassable; the fields and woods became quagmires after a few wagons have crossed over.[109]

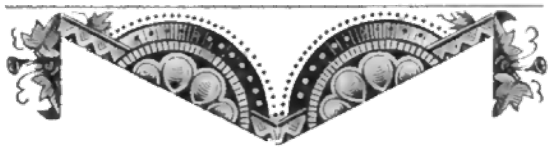
On June 18th, in an effort to consolidate his strength, Confederate General Johnston repositioned his rebel troops into defensive positions atop the Big and Little Kennesaw Mountains and then extended their line two miles southward to a hill occupied by Benjamin Franklin Cheatham (thereafter known as Cheatham's Hill).[110] The 76th Ohio followed their corps southward, as it advanced and fortified its position each day. On June 22nd, it occupied a position near the railroad at the foot of Kennesaw Mountain.[111] The Company C Muster Roll for May/June, 1864 showed Job to be present for duty. A notation on the form also indicated that he owed the army 41 cents for a canteen and strap, evidently lost between his desertion and his return.[112]

Sherman's attempt to get around the rebel left flank failed on June 23rd in the Battle of Kolb's Farm, when Lieutenant General John Bell Hood's Confederate corps assaulted the Union Army's 20th Corps, commanded by Joseph Hooker. Sherman's plan now was to destroy the Confederate Army by staging an assault on Kennesaw Mountain and Cheatham's Hill.

At 9 a.m. on June 27, 1864, three brigades from the 2nd and 4th Divisions of Logan's 15th Corps were ordered up Kennesaw Mountain, but were stopped before they could get within 30 feet of the principal rebel defenses.[113] A savage slaughter took place two miles to the south atop Cheatham's Hill. There, two Union divisions from the Army of the Cumberland were brutally driven back.[114] The 76th Ohio was not directly involved in either assault. By 11:30 a.m., Sherman realized that the assaults had failed, after suffering over 3,000 casualties.[115] Historian Geoffrey Ward observed:

> Sherman never admitted he had made a mistake at Kennesaw Mountain, but he never repeated it either. He returned to his flanking maneuvers, forcing Johnston back to within sight of Atlanta itself.[116]

Johnston's next defensive line was established on the banks of the Chattahoochee River, just ten miles northwest of Atlanta. On July 8th, Sherman sent a diversionary strike upon the rebel left flank, while other troops successfully crossed the river upstream and established a strong position there. Johnston's rebels crossed the river behind him and positioned themselves, once more, between the Union Army and the city of Atlanta.[117]



1864 (Part II)

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE BATTLE OF ATLANTA

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Colonel William Burnam Woods) — 1st Brigade (Colonel Milo Smith, July 15th to August 18th; General Charles Robert Woods, August 19, 1864 to April 2, 1865) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Charles Robert Woods, July 15th to August 18th; General Peter Joseph Osterhaus, August 19th to September 24th) — 15th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander Logan, until July 22, 1864; Brigadier General Morgan Lewis Smith, July 22nd to July 27th; General Logan again from July 27th to September 23rd) — Army of the Tennessee (Major General James Birdseye McPherson, until his death on July 22, 1864; Major General John Logan, July 22nd to July 27th; Major General Oliver Otis Howard, after July 27th).[1]

On July 17, 1864, as Sherman's army continued to cross the Chattahoochee River, Confederate President Jefferson Davis, urged by his military advisor Braxton Bragg (who had commanded the Confederate loss at Chattanooga), decided that a change in leadership was needed. To stop the rebel armies from retreating any further, the President felt that a more aggressive posture was needed against the Yankees. Much to the chagrin of the rebel soldiers and much to the delight of Sherman, President Davis replaced Joe Johnston with John Bell Hood. Hood was less cautious than Johnston, and had a "see the enemy and charge" attitude that Sherman felt would benefit the Union campaign. That is exactly what happened during the final six weeks of the Atlanta Campaign.[2]

Coincidentally, July 17th also marked the beginning of the Atlanta Campaign, with all Union armies crossing the Chattahoochee River north of the city. McPherson's Army of the Tennessee (including the 76th Ohio) was sent the farthest east, in the direction of Stone Mountain. On July 18th, all armies turned southward and crossed Peach Tree Creek. The Army of the Tennessee was now positioned seven miles east of Decatur, Georgia and four miles from Stone Mountain. As they marched astride the railroad, specially trained soldiers broke up and disabled the Confederate railroad.[3] By July 20th, the 76th Ohio was in position within four miles of Atlanta.[4]

Hood wasted no time. On July 20th, feeling that the constant defensive maneuvering had "dulled the Confederate soldier's combative spirit," Hood ordered a counterattack against the Army of the Cumberland positioned due north of Atlanta. In what became known as the Battle of Peach Tree Creek, an uncoordinated Confederate offensive was beaten back by Union artillery and musket fire.[5]

Undaunted by the loss of some 4,800 men, Hood planned another attack for July 22nd.[6] In what would later be known as the Battle of Atlanta, or (as the rebels called it) the Battle of Decatur, Hood's plan would send one Confederate corps, commanded by William Hardee, on a wide night march to the east to get around the Union's left flank and attack the Federals at daybreak. Once the Union's left flank began to crumble from Hardee's attack, another rebel corps, commanded by Benjamin Franklin Cheatham, would attack the Union's right wing from the west. Hood believed that his double assault would rout the Union army and capture the Federal supply wagons that rebel scouts had found in great numbers parked in and around Decatur.[7] He believed that his plan, which was similar to "Stonewall" Jackson's masterful plan at Chancellorsville, would prove equally effective.[8]

It did not. Unlike Jackson's maneuver 14 months earlier, the execution left much to be desired. The night march was late to depart, some units got lost, and when they finally

engaged the Federals, they realized that they hadn't gone far enough to outflank them.[9] Savage fighting quickly developed between Hardee's rebel forces and Union forces commanded by James McPherson.[10] Tragically, McPherson, a highly respected commander and personal friend of Sherman, accidentally rode into enemy skirmishers while surveying the Union position and was killed.[11] John Logan, commander of the 15th Corps, succeeded him as commander of the Army of the Tennessee.[12]

Instead of outflanking the Union position, the rebels had emerged directly in front of the "Yates Sharpshooters" of the 64th Illinois. Armed with Henry repeating rifles, the Illinois soldiers not only thwarted the initial attack, but were eventually able to mount an effective counterattack to reclaim McPherson's body.[13]

At his command post on the eastern edge of Atlanta, Hood patiently waited for a sign that Hardee's attack has succeeded. Sometime between 3 and 4 p.m., he finally received word that simultaneous rebel assaults had finally pierced and crumbled the Union's left wing. Hearing the good news, Hood ordered two rebel corps, commanded by Benjamin Franklin Cheatham and Gustavus Woodson Smith, to attack the Union positions along its right wing.[14] One of these rebel brigades, commanded by Arthur Middleton Manigault, marched along the Atlanta to Decatur railroad, positioned itself directly in front of the 15th Corps, and attacked.[15] Bearing the brunt of this rebel assault was the division of Morgan Smith who occupied an abandoned line of rifle trenches near the railroad.[16] At approximately 4 p.m., Confederate soldiers overran their positions and captured four 20-pound Parrott guns of Battery A of the 1st Illinois Artillery. In the minutes that followed, the rebel soldiers fought to hold their newly acquired gains from behind makeshift barricades of cotton bales and logs.[17]

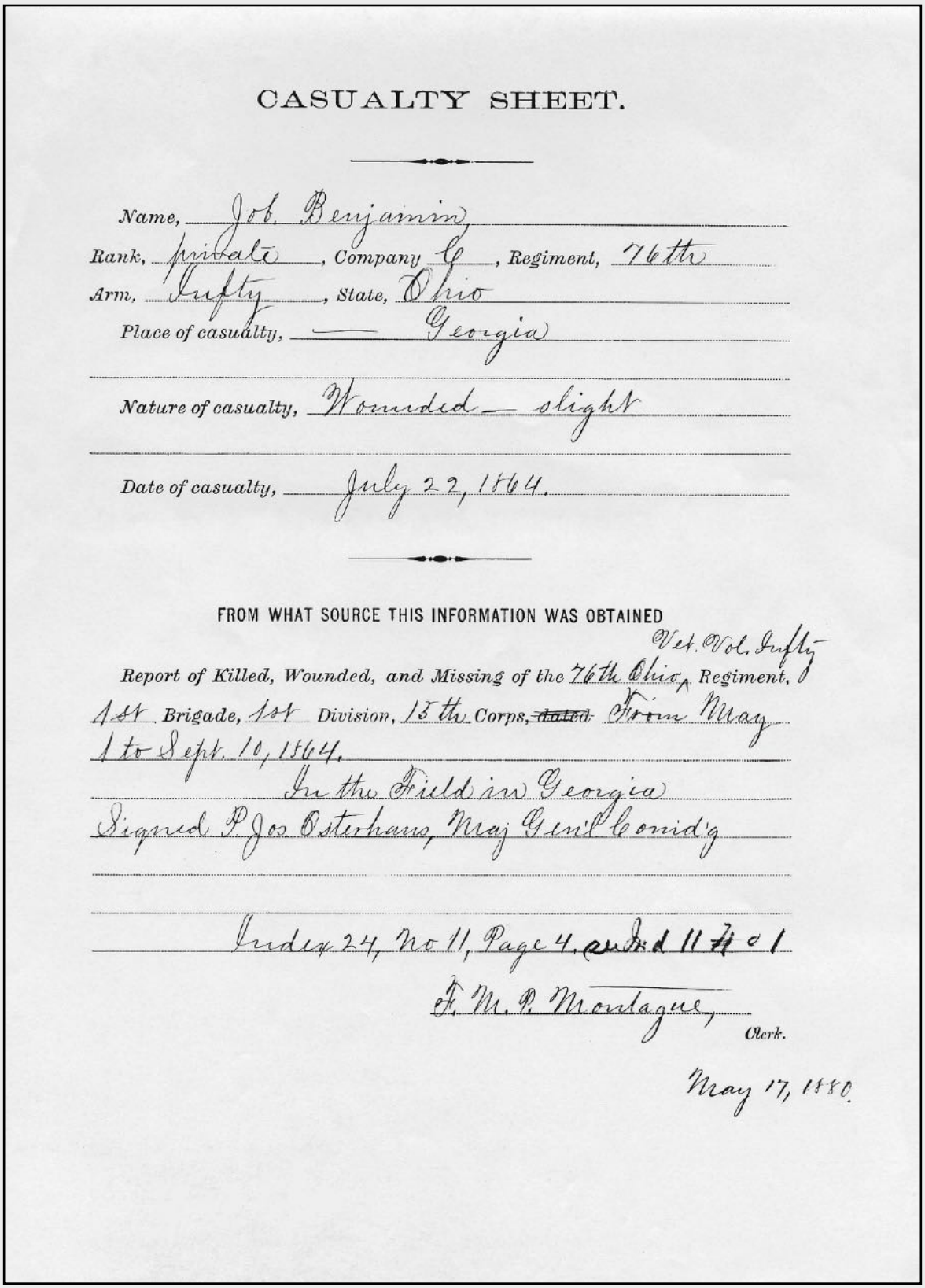
Logan rallied his Union soldiers to reform their lines, crying "McPherson and revenge, boys . . . McPherson and revenge." [18] The Union counterattack was led by three brigades, one from the 16th Army Corps and two from the 1st Division of the 15th Corps, which included the 76th Ohio. From their positions near the right (northern) flank of the Union lines, the Union troops moved swiftly downhill to turn back the Confederate's recent advances.[19] In his memoirs, Sherman described the fighting that Job Benjamin's division participated in:

> General Charles R. Wood's division of the 15th Corps was on the extreme right of the Army of the Tennessee, between the railroad and the Howard House ... He reported to me in person that the line on his left had been swept back, and that his connection with General Logan on Leggett's Hill was broken. I ordered him to wheel his brigades to the left, to advance in echelon, and to catch the enemy in flank ... [Other Union forces were ordered to] direct a heavy fire over the heads of General Wood's men against the enemy.[20]

The 76th Ohio and the 30th Iowa, both from Woods' Division, were the first regiments to drive the enemy from the works, retake their original positions, and recapture the four artillery pieces.[21] Once again in Union hands, the guns were fired upon the retreating rebel soldiers.

Sometime during the fierce fighting late that afternoon, Private Job Benjamin was wounded. His casualty sheet lists his injury, but only calls it a slight wound.[22] (See Figure 26). Other records, however, describe his injury as much more serious — a gunshot wound to the face that apparently blinded him in the right eye. Details of the wound are found in a Surgeon's Certificate, dated September 10, 1888. Apparently examined by a three-member board of surgeons in Carrollton, Missouri on August 1, 1888, Job's wound was described as follows:

> There is a scar situated one inch above the outer angle of the right eye, indicating the location of the [gunshot wound]. The scar is an inch and a half long ... There is total blindness of the right eye, with some congestion of the conjunctiva and opacity of the cornea [23] ... Claimant's disability is permanent.[24]



CASUALTY SHEET.

Name, Job. Benjamin

Rank, private, Company C, Regiment, 76th

Arm, Infty, State, Ohio

Place of casualty, — Georgia

Nature of casualty, Wounded — slight

Date of casualty, July 22, 1864.

FROM WHAT SOURCE THIS INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED

Vet. Vol. Infty

Report of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the 76th Ohio, Regiment, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 15th Corps, ~~dated~~ From May 1 to Sept. 10, 1864.

In the Field in Georgia

Signed P Jos Osterhaus, Maj Gen'l Comd'g

Index 24, No 11, Page 4. ~~and~~ 11 & 1

F. M. P. Montague, Clerk.

May 17, 1880.

Figure 26: Although this Casualty Sheet for Job Benjamin was prepared 15 years after the Civil War ended, its information was derived from military records. It describes the nature of his wound during the Battle of Atlanta as “slight.” From the National Archives.

According to affidavits filed by two fellow soldiers, the injured Job Benjamin was taken to a field hospital in Marietta, Georgia for treatment. One of these soldiers was Isaac N. Preston, a fellow private from Job's Company C. Private Preston stated that he was an eyewitness to Job's injury, and that he was ordered by the company commander to accompany Private Benjamin to the field hospital.[25] The other soldier was 1st Lieutenant Miles Arnold, also from Company C. Lieutenant Arnold was evidently wounded at the Battle of Atlanta as well, for he stated that he was in the same Marietta hospital as Job. He also said that he and Job had been neighbors for 20 to 25 years before the war and that he was the man who "got [Job] to enlist, knowing him to be a brave man — one that would not fear to go anywhere, even to the jaws of death." [26] How much of Lieutenant Arnold's kind words were exaggerated to help Job acquire a government pension is unknown.

The Battle of Atlanta on July 22nd proved to be another disappointing defeat for Hood's Confederate army. Approximately 8,000 men had been lost, compared to only 3,700 lost on the Union side.[27] Confederate General William Hardee called the Battle of Atlanta "one of the most desperate and bloody of the war." [28]

With McPherson's death and Logan's promotion, Morgan Lewis Smith became commander of the 15th Corps. These promotions lasted for only five days, for on July 27th, Oliver Otis Howard was given command of the Army of the Tennessee and Logan was returned to command of the 15th Corps. These command changes, which caused much bitterness among Union generals, were ordered by Sherman.[29]

THE CIVIL WAR FIELD HOSPITAL

The field hospital in Marietta, Georgia that Job Benjamin was taken to was not unlike others during the war. It has been said that the Civil War was fought at the end of the medical middle ages. Doctors knew absolutely nothing of what caused the diseases that struck huge numbers of soldiers. They knew nothing about germs, proper sanitation, or the role that insects play in spreading disease. Nor did anyone realize the connection between contaminated water and disease.[30]

The soft lead 0.57 caliber bullets shot from rifle muskets of the day inflicted wounds that were jagged and nasty. Historian James Robertson, Jr. described the typical treatment given to gunshot wounds:

> If the wound was not in the torso or did not involve a fractured bone, treatment was simple. Their wounds were bandaged with a handful of lint, over which was a bandage of cotton; then a canteen of water was placed in the patient's free hand, that he might keep the cloth always wet. In the other hand was a branch with which to wave the flies away.[31]

If the wound was more serious, the surgeon would first probe for imbedded bullets, usually with his fingers in the interest of speed. Second, the surgeon utilized a crude form of ligature to stop hemorrhaging. This consisted of applying a loop of thread around the ruptured artery and leaving one end of the thread dangling loosely, to be tended to in the coming days. The third option occupied the surgeon three-fourths of the time at a field hospital — performing hasty amputations of limbs that were too mangled to repair.[32]

ATLANTA RESISTS THE UNION ONSLAUGHT

By July 25, 1864, the Union armies were in position north and east of Atlanta. Sherman's next objective was to cut Confederate communications and railroad supply lines extending southward from the city of Atlanta.[33] In his memoirs, Sherman recalled this strategy:

> My plan of action was to move the Army of the Tennessee to the right rapidly and boldly against the railroad below Atlanta, and at the same time to send all the cavalry around by the right and left to make a lodgment on the Macon Road about Jonesboro.[34]

On July 26th, Sherman sent three brigades of Union cavalry on a five-day raid to cut the Confederate supply lines. Unfortunately, the raid was unsuccessful, and heavy losses were inflicted upon the Union soldiers by the Confederate cavalry south of the city.[36] On July 27th, the Union infantry was on the move. They reached their positions to the west of Atlanta by the following morning.[36]

Despite recent setbacks, Confederate Hood still felt that fighting the Yankees was the best thing for the morale of his army. On July 28th, in response to the Union maneuverings, he took the offensive once again and ordered one of his corps to attack the Union army near a meeting house known as Ezra Church.[37] In a series of disjointed attacks ordered by a Confederate general with limited field experience (Lieutenant General Stephen Lee), the rebel offensive achieved little but self-sacrifice.[38]

In his official report on the Battle of Ezra Church, John Logan, commanding the 15th Corps, gave special credit to three division commanders, including 1st Division commander Charles R. Woods. Within that division, the soldiers of the 76th Ohio, protected by logs and rails hastily thrown up in front of their lines, repulsed successive rebel charges between 11:30 a.m. and 3 p.m.[39] By the end of fighting at Ezra Church, 1,000 Confederate soldiers lay dead on the field in front of the 15th Corps.[40] Despite their loss, the Confederates were successful in preventing the Union army from cutting their vital lifeline to the south.

Following the Battle of Ezra Church, rebel forces withdrew to the city of Atlanta. In about a week's time, a third of Hood's forces — nearly 20,000 men — had been lost.[41] Despite these heavy losses, the city of Atlanta (clearly visible to the unaided eye from Federal positions) steadfastly refused to be captured.[42]

However, Sherman remained optimistic:

> The month of August opened hot and sultry, but our position before Atlanta was healthy, with ample supplies of wood, water and provisions.[43]

Despite ample supplies, a typical Union camp during the oppressive heat and humidity of summer duty was disgusting by modern standards. Flies, mosquitoes, disease, and filth were everywhere. The drinking water was generally muddy, warm, and in short supply. Army camps acquired an overbearing stench because of the lack of attention given to garbage pits and latrine procedures. But the Union soldiers by this time were quite accustomed to this, along with homesickness, foul weather, filth, lack of privacy, stem discipline, and general discomfort.[44]

The Union army, despite regular successes against the Confederate onslaughts, was still unable to take Atlanta by force. Sherman decided to lay a partial siege to the city and on August 9th, he ordered a bombardment of the city to begin. For seventeen days the bombardment continued, but because supplies could still reach the city from the south, rebel soldiers and Atlanta residents could not be forced to surrender.[45] On August 13th, the skirmish line in front of the 1st Division was advanced and the 76th Ohio captured 50 rebel prisoners.[46]

Sherman believed that if he sent the lion's share of his army against the railroad south of Atlanta, he could finally break the Confederate hold on Atlanta.[47] On August 26th, the 15th and 17th Corps moved out of their trenches and marched southward along the Montgomery and Atlanta Railroad, destroying the railroad as they advanced toward Jonesboro.[48] On the night of August 30th, the 76th Ohio was positioned in a line across the Flint River, just west of Jonesboro.[49] That same night, Hood sent two Confederate corps to defend Jonesboro.[50] Hood told his two corps commanders — Generals William Hardee and Stephen Lee — that they were to attack the Union troops as early the next morning as they could and drive them back across the Flint River west of Jonesboro.[51] However, a series of frustrating delays slowed the movement of rebel troops overnight and early the next morning, and Confederate forces weren't assembled and in their proper positions until mid-afternoon.[52] Nearly 20,000 rebel soldiers prepared to attack 12,000 Union soldiers positioned behind fortified lines.[53]

At 3 p.m. on August 31st, the Battle of Jonesboro began with an onset of Confederate cannon, followed ten minutes later by the advance of skirmishers.[54] The rebel plan was to begin their attack from the left side of their front and continue it from left to right along the entire battle front. Stephen Lee's division, anchoring the right flank of the rebel line, would enter the fray only after the battle was well underway.[55] Unfortunately for the Confederates, Lee was a bit overanxious and, believing the sound of skirmishers to be the onset of the main assault, ordered his troops to charge prematurely.[56]

The Confederates advanced into a death trap. With deadly accuracy, the veterans of Logan's 15th Corps slaughtered the advancing southerners. Historian Albert Castel described it as "less a battle than an execution." [57] Without the protection of rifle pits, the 76th Ohio took an active share in the engagement as rebel soldiers desperately charged Union lines and were repulsed.[58] This final rebel assault failed. With no hope left of re-establishing the severed rail link that provided Atlanta its southern lifeline to Macon, Hood ordered most of the Confederate army to evacuate Atlanta and retreat southward toward Macon. He left behind at Jonesboro only one corps, commanded by Hardee, "to protect Macon and communications." [59]

With Hardee's lone corps at Jonesboro, Sherman saw an opportunity not only to destroy the railroad south of Atlanta, but annihilate Hardee's rebel corps with his much larger Union force.[60] On the afternoon of September 1st, the Battle of Jonesboro was renewed, this time spearheaded primarily by the Union's 4th and 14th Corps. Although the ensuing battle allowed the Union fighters to break through a portion of the rebel line and capture back cannons lost in earlier battles, the rebel defenses (strengthened by the naturally defensive terrain) proved strong enough to prevent their own destruction.[61] When night fell, Hardee's troops withdrew to join Hood's remaining army.[62]

Late afternoon that same day, the city of Atlanta was evacuated by the Confederates. Union soldiers entered the town the following day.[63]

In addition to the military significance of Atlanta's surrender, its political significance may have been even greater. The fall of Atlanta gave an immense boost to the re-election prospects of Abraham Lincoln and caused serious problems for the Peace Democrats who vowed that the Union could not easily win the war and should therefore negotiate for peace. Lincoln's overwhelming victory over candidate George McClellan in November was in large part because of Sherman's success at Atlanta and General Philip Sheridan's cavalry victories in the Shenandoah Valley.[64]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND THE BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Major John A. Burdett) — 3rd Brigade (Colonel Frederick William Moore) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General George Francis McGinnis) — 19th Army Corps (Major General Joseph Jones Reynolds) -- Army of the Gulf, also known as the Military Division of Western Mississippi (Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby).[65]

While Job Benjamin was risking life and limb in the Atlanta Campaign, Samuel Kirkman and the 77th Illinois were enjoying a two month respite in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Their army had recently been decimated in the ill-fated Red River Campaign, and on June 11, 1864, the 13th Corps was temporarily discontinued. As a result of this action, the 77th Illinois was transferred to the 3rd Brigade of the 3rd Division of the 19th Army Corps.[66] The Company K Muster Roll for May/June, 1864 indicated that Samuel was present, and was now detailed to the brigade Quartermaster.[67] This entry is significant if we are to understand the day to day life of Samuel Kirkman. Now detailed to the brigade Quartermaster, he would enjoy a less rigorous and dangerous daily life.

As mentioned earlier in this work, the army Quartermaster is responsible for providing troops with quarters, clothing, and equipment. As early as March of 1863, in the early days of the Vicksburg campaign, Samuel may have expressed interest in working in this capacity for the army. According to company muster records, he was detailed as assistant to the quartermaster on April 5, 1863. Subsequent records made during the fall of 1863 confirmed that he had been detailed to the regimental quartermaster on April 5, 1863. The March/April, 1864 muster roll indicated that these same orders were re-issued on March 15, 1864 by 1st Brigade commander Lieutenant Colonel John Cowen. The following muster roll record — that of May/June, 1864 — indicated that ten days after this, on March 25, 1864, Samuel was detailed to the brigade quartermaster, which is responsible for providing quarters, clothing, and equipment for all four regiments that comprised the brigade.[68]

How this change in duty assignment likely changed Samuel's daily life is described by another Union soldier who was similarly assigned to these duties — Private Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio. In Private Willison's memoirs, he described his assignment to the Brigadier Quartermaster, which took place on April 23, 1864, just one month before Samuel's:

> . . . on April 23, I was detached for duty in the brigade quartermaster's department. This did not suit him [his commanding lieutenant] at all. He offered me a sergeantcy if I would throw up the position and return to the company, but I had traveled "foot-back" shouldering a knapsack and gun to my full satisfaction. The prospect was much more inviting to henceforth go horseback, my "clothing, camp and garrison equippage" transported, enjoy the privileges of a headquarters attache, and last, but not least, get the scent of battle from afar off. So, in obedience to the special order hereinbefore quoted, I duly presented myself at brigade headquarters. . . Henceforth I was at liberty to skirt the field of battle and gauge the distance from peril by my fears. I am willing to confess that I did not often, willfully, put myself where shot and shell were flying very thickly. There was no longer any compulsion for me to court such danger, and I wasn't of the nature to dare danger for the fun of it.[69]

It is not clear whether Samuel originally volunteered for either his regimental quartermaster appointment or his subsequent "promotion" to the brigade quartermaster. More than likely, however, he enjoyed his new responsibilities (and their relative distance from the front line of battle) well enough to continue them until his discharge from the army in July of 1865.[70]

On July 20, 1864, soldiers of the 77th Illinois boarded the ocean steamer *Tamaulipas* and headed downriver. The second leg of the trip was aboard the *Alice Vivian*, which carried them to Morganza Bend, located midway between Port Hudson and the mouth of the Red

River in Louisiana.[71] On July 28th, soldiers of the regiment exchanged their trusty Enfield musket rifles for Springfield rifles, in preparation for a new military campaign. On July 30th, the regiment left camp and boarded another steamship, the *St. Charles*, bound for the Union navy's blockading fleet off Mobile Bay.[72] William Bentley, who had recently been promoted to 1st Lieutenant of the 77th U.S. Colored Infantry, recalled:

> In the immediate vicinity, the rebel gunboats watched vigilantly the movements of our land and naval forces. A crisis was evidently approaching, and all were anxiously awaiting the result of the impending trial of strength and skill.[73]

The Union strategy was to first capture Fort Gaines, the strongest remaining Confederate work on the Gulf Coast. After capturing Fort Gaines, the Union armies would then cross the channel and capture Fort Morgan, and finally capture the city of Mobile itself. Major General Gordon Granger commanded the overall Union expedition.[74]

In early August, Union troops landed on the western end of Dauphin Island, Alabama. By the evening of August 4, 1864, the 77th Illinois had pushed to within a mile and a half of the enemy fort. Five companies of the 77th Illinois were sent forward to position Union artillery batteries. Samuel's Company K and five other companies remained behind.[75]

The following day — August 5, 1864 — was the Battle of Mobile Bay. The battle was primarily a naval engagement between a Union force of four ironclads and 14 wooden ships against a Confederate fleet of one ironclad, three wooden ships, and artillery support from three rebel forts. It was during this battle that Union Admiral David Farragut, lashed to the rigging of his flagship, is reported to have spoken the famous line, "damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead." [During the Civil War, "torpedo" was the term given to what we now call floating mines].[76]

William Wiley described the battle from his safe vantage point ashore:

> When the fleet came within Fort Morgan the fort opened on them with all their guns and the fleet replying as they moved steadily on. . . The sight was awfully grant to those of us who could view it from a safe distance. Our land batteries engaged Fort Gaines and dropped shell after shell into the fort from all their guns to keep them from operating against the fleet. There was a continuous flash of fire and deafening roar from the guns of both fleet and forts and our land batteries and as the sound reverberated over the water it was terrible to hear as well as to behold.[77]

As Private Wiley described, rebel guns from Fort Gaines were not only directed at the Union navy, but were also turned upon Union land forces. Protected by hastily constructed earthworks, federal guns returned fire as Union skirmishers steadily advanced on the fort.[78] After three hours of naval fighting, the Union flotilla had seriously crippled the Confederate ironclad "Tennessee." Once the "Tennessee" surrendered, Mobile Bay belonged to the Union navy.[79]

The next day, an unchallenged Union navy combined with federal land forces in a concentrated assault on Fort Gaines. The Confederate fort could endure this onslaught for only one day. On the morning of August 7th, the flag of truce was sent out. Fort Gaines formally surrendered on August 8th.[80]

With Fort Gaines now in Federal hands, the army and navy turned its attention toward its next target, Fort Morgan, located across the bay on the westernmost tip of the Mobile Point peninsula. While the 77th Illinois and one other regiment remained at Fort Gaines, Union forces laid siege to Fort Morgan until it surrendered on August 23, 1864.[81]

The 77th Illinois remained on Dauphin Island until August 25th, when it boarded the steamer *J.M. Burr*, crossed over to Fort Morgan to pick up other regiments, and proceeded to nearby Cedar Point and Pilot Town. Their brigade now consisted of five regiments: the 77th Illinois, the 23rd Wisconsin, the 67th Indiana, the 96th Ohio, and the 161st New York. However,

since dry camp grounds were scarce, the 77th Illinois and two other regiments boarded another steamer, the *Thomas Sparks*, on September 9th, crossed into open waters, and returned to their former campground at Morganza Bend.[82]

The Company K Muster Roll for July/August, 1864 showed Samuel to be absent and, for the third straight report, he was detailed to the Brigade Quartermaster. A Detachment Muster Roll for the same two-month period showed Samuel to be present at Morganza, Louisiana and detached by order of his Brigade Commander, Colonel Frederick William Moore.[83]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN FINALLY SEES "SOFT DUTY"

After three weeks encamped at Morganza, Louisiana, the 77th Illinois left their camp on October 6th, boarded the steamer *Laurel Hill*, and left for New Orleans, where they were assigned to guard rebel prisoners captured at Fort Gaines.[84] Private William Wiley elaborated:

> Our duty while there consisted in guarding rebel prisoners who were quartered in an adjoining press and doing guard duty at the Baronne Street Prison and other military prisons, guarding government stores, etc. The different companies of the regiment were scattered around . . . some in Picayune Press, some in Alabama Press and some on Levee Street. . . We had good comfortable quarters and good rations but our duty was pretty heavy.[85]

Figure 27: Samuel Kirkman's carte de visite photograph

While in New Orleans, Samuel Kirkman and several of his fellow soldiers had 'carte de visite' photographs taken at Leeson's Photographic Gallery at 167 Poydras Street. These small baseball card sized photographs were often exchanged between soldiers or sent home to loved ones. Samuel kept at least 16 carte de visite photographs of his fellow soldiers throughout the remainder of his life. These photographs are reproduced and described in Appendix B.

Lieutenant William Bentley recalled this four month break from the horrors of war:

> With light duties to perform, with plenty to eat and good clothes to wear, with the freedom of the city and access to places of instruction and amusement, the winter passed pleasantly away.[86]

The Company K Muster Rolls for both September/October and November/December, 1864 each show Samuel to be present.[87] On Christmas Day, 1864, William Wiley described the rare treats that the regiment enjoyed:

> . . . our mess No. 3 had a Yankee cook in the person of Dennis Duff and he prepared us a fine dinner of cod fish and beans each day and we thought it [was] extra good. The good folks at home sent us a box of good things and among other things there was a four gallon jar of gilt edged butter and as we had hardly tasted butter for something over two years. I think that butter never tasted quite so good to mortal man before or since. It helped out our sad bread and hardtack wonderfully.[88]

JOB BENJAMIN FOLLOWS SHERMAN'S PURSUIT OF HOOD

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Lieutenant Colonel Willard Warner) — 1st Brigade (Colonel William Burnam Woods) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Charles Robert Woods) — 15th Army Corps (Brigadier General Peter Joseph Osterhaus) - Army of the Tennessee (Major General Oliver Otis Howard) [89]

The Confederate army that had once occupied Atlanta now took defensive positions in the mountains near Lafayette, approximately 100 miles north of Atlanta.[90] Initially, Hood hoped that the Union army would attack his rebel forces. That way, his rebel army could exploit their defensive advantage, as they had from the heights of Kennesaw Mountain two and a half months before. But his corps commanders, feeling that the soldiers were not yet fit for battle, convinced Hood to send his army farther to the north to invade middle Tennessee. Their new objective was the city of Knoxville, Tennessee.[91]

On September 8, 1864, with Atlanta now in Union hands, the 76th Ohio and its 1st Division moved to East Point, immediately south of Atlanta, and camped there for nearly a month of rest and relaxation.[92] Sherman established his headquarters in Atlanta, and he wasted no time in informing the mayor of his intention to expel all residents of Atlanta, assist their transport to places north or south, and then turn the city into a "pure Gibralter" that could be defended by a minimal Union force.[93]

Private Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio reflected upon Sherman's rationale years later in his memoirs:

> Atlanta was laid waste with a relentless and merciless hand. With foes of the character of the southern people, our fellow countrymen, Sherman recognized that nothing short of absolute impoverishment in man and means could bring about their conquest and the termination of the war.[94]

On October 4th, the regiment left camp and proceeded northwesterly, in pursuit of Hood's rebel army, who was now threatening the Union's vulnerable rail supply line from Chattanooga.[95]

The 76th Ohio, marching with the 1st Division, crossed the Chattahoochee River, marched through Marietta, passed north of Kennesaw Mountain, near Adairsville, through Resaca, and through the Snake Creek Gap.[96] The 1st Division led the march of the Army of the Tennessee. On October 16th, C.R. Woods' 1st Division (including the 76th Ohio) skirmished with the enemy at Ship's Gap, where they captured enemy prisoners from the 24th South Carolina regiment.[97] Following this skirmish, the 76th Ohio marched through Lafayette, and on October 18th moved south through Summerville and bivouacked. Here the non-veterans were mustered out.[98] The Company C Muster Roll for September/October, 1864 showed Benjamin to be present for duty.[99] He and his fellow soldiers now waited for the next major campaign to begin.

WILSON BENJAMIN JOINS THE CIVIL WAR

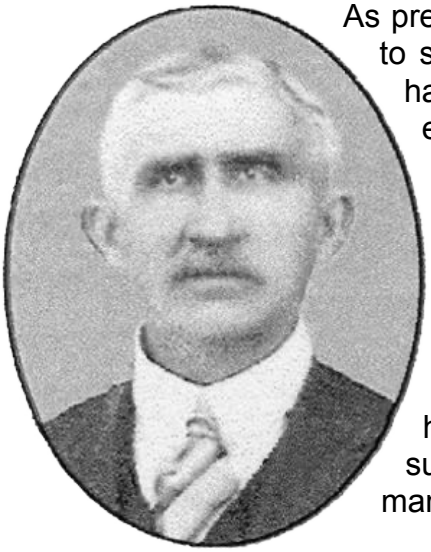


Figure 28: This post-war image of Wilson Benjamin was adapted from a family photograph owned by Roland Benjamin.

As previously mentioned, Wilson Benjamin, with a wife and infant son to support, had little reason to join the war. Assuming that Wilson had some contact with his older brother Job, he had learned well enough about the horrors of war through Job's war experiences at Fort Donelson and Shiloh.

However, recruitment in Illinois and the nation as a whole started to dwindle in late 1862, forcing Abraham Lincoln in March of 1863 to approve the Enrollment Act (often called the Conscription Act) which authorized the first Union military draft.[100] However, any man who could pay a $300 "commutation fee" or find a suitable substitute willing to serve in his place, was exempt from the draft.[101] This provision gives support to the popular complaint that the Civil War was a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight." [102] Historian Victor Hicken described the situation facing the state of Illinois:

> Illinois was able to avoid the application of the draft through the summer of 1863, by establishing credits for Illinois volunteers serving in regiments of neighboring states and tapping hitherto unused segments of the population for volunteers.[103]

However, by the fall of 1864, to the regret of most state officials, the draft was finally applied through most parts of Illinois.[104]

Wilson Benjamin could avoid the war no more. On September 27, 1864, Wilson, my third ancestral soldier of the war, went to Peoria, Illinois to be mustered into service as a Private in Company D of the 8th Illinois Infantry by Captain Allen. His decision to join the Civil War was probably not voluntary. Records indicate that he was one of many men who entered the war because of the draft. The Muster and Descriptive Roll gave his age as 21, his height as 5 foot, 8 inches tall, with dark hair, dark complexion, and blue eyes. His occupation was given as a farmer.[105] Another muster record, which incorrectly states Wilson's age to be 23, gives his term of enlistment as one year.[106] (See Figure 29).

The regiment that Wilson joined — the 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry — was one of the first Illinois regiments formed. In fact, it was organized in Springfield on April 25, 1861, just 13 days after Fort Sumter brought the nation into conflict.[107] Like his older brother's 76th Ohio, it fought at the Battles of Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, and Shiloh. However, unlike the 76th Ohio, the 8th Illinois seemed to receive the brunt of fierce fighting. It fought with McClernand's 1st Division at Fort Donelson and Shiloh, was positioned near the fiercest fighting at Champion Hill, and participated in the assaults and siege at Vicksburg.[108] By 1864, the 8th Illinois had earned a sterling reputation.

B | 8 | Ill.

Benjamin S. Wilson

Appears with rank of Pvt on

Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of Drafted Men and Substitutes forwarded*

for the 8 Reg't Illinois Infantry. Roll dated Springfield Ill, Oct 17, 1864.

Where born Lincoln O.

Age 23 years; occupation Farmer

When enlisted Sept 27, 1864

Where enlisted Peoria

For what period enlisted 1 years.

Eyes Blue; hair Dark

Complexion Dark; height 5 ft. 8 in.

When mustered in Sept 27, 1864.

Where mustered in Peoria

Bounty paid $ 100; due $ 100

Where credited

Company to which assigned

Remarks: Residence when enlisted Mill Creek Ill 5th Dist. Sub Dist. 13

Filed with Wilson S. Benjamin

* This roll of Drafted Men and Substitutes was made on the form intended for Volunteer Recruits.

Book mark:

Booth

(340c) Copyist.

Figure 29: A copy of Wilson Benjamin's draft record. From the National Archives.

JOB BENJAMIN MARCHES WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA

On October 26th, Sherman realized that Hood's Confederate army was marching in haste for Tennessee, so he proposed a daring strategy of his own. He would send two army corps to follow Hood, while Sherman's main force of 60,000 men would return to Atlanta. He would then begin an unprecedented southeasterly march toward Savannah, Georgia — Sherman's famous (or infamous) march to the sea.[109] As historian Shelby Foote noted:

> Sherman was maybe the first truly modem general. He was the first one to understand that civilians were the backers-up of things and that if you went against civilians, you'd deprive the army of what kept it going.[110]

That was Sherman's full intention. On October 9th, Sherman telegraphed Grant in Virginia: "The utter destruction of [Georgia's] roads, houses and people cripple its military resources . . . I can make this march, and make Georgia howl!" [111]

On November 2nd, Grant gave Sherman formal permission to "go on as he proposed" on his Campaign to the Sea.[112]

With 60,000 fellow soldiers, the 76th Ohio and its 15th Corps began their return march for Atlanta, via the small towns of Little River and Cave Springs.[113] Shortly after daybreak on November 16, 1864, Sherman left behind a burned and ruined city of Atlanta and began his unprecedented, and risky, campaign to the sea.[114]

It was an immense undertaking. Historian Geoffrey Ward quantified the operation:

> 62,000 men in blue were on the move in two great columns — 218 regiments, including 52 from Ohio alone ... Their supply train stretched 25 miles.[115]

Despite this impressive train of supplies, the soldiers would largely live off the rich land of the Georgia countryside during the campaign.[116] Sherman's massive army moved southward out of Atlanta in two diverging paths, so as to confuse the enemy as to their ultimate destination. The right, or southernmost, wing of the army consisted of the 15th and 17th Corps. The left, or northernmost, wing of the army consisted of the 14th and 20th Corps.[117] Opposing the Federal advance was a 13,000 man Confederate force consisting of 3,000 members of the Georgia state Militia (commanded by Major General Gustavus Woodson Smith) and a 10,000-man cavalry force (commanded by Brigadier General Joseph Wheeler).[118]

The 76th Ohio, along with the 15th and 17th Corps, marched with the right wing or southern column of the Union army, and averaged 15 miles a day.[119] Its path followed the railroad southward toward Jonesboro and then turned southeasterly through the towns of McDonough, Indian Springs, Clinton, and Irwintown.[120] The 15th Corps crossed the Macon and Augusta Railroad 20 miles east of Macon, and on November 21st, the corps tore up the railroad tracks eastward from the town of Griswoldville (midway between Macon and Gordon).[121]

Private Charles Willison described the countryside they marched through:

> I might say a few words about the character of the country along this line of march. That between Atlanta and Irwinton is fine, fertile, prosperous appearing, and attractive. From Irwinton eastward our route was through level pine forests, carpeted with the fallen dry foliage of these trees, so that it was like walking on soft Brussels. Miles apart in this forest we would occasionally come across a little clearing containing the poverty-stricken habitation of one of the "poor white trash" of the south.[122]

At Griswoldville, the 1st Division, including the 76th Ohio, was left behind as a rear guard for the advancing army.[123]

Far to the north, Hood's Confederate Army, now invading Tennessee, hoped to draw the attention of Sherman's army. Sherman ignored him. "If Hood goes to the Ohio River," Sherman quipped, "I'll give him rations. My business is down south." [124]

On November 22nd, the other brigade (2nd Brigade) of the 1st Division, commanded by Brigadier General Charles Walcutt, was vigorously attacked by a unit of the Georgia state militia. Acting with more courage than discretion, the rebel soldiers fought valiantly for several hours before they were forced to withdraw by superior Federal numbers and arms (i.e. the newly introduced Spencer repeating rifle).[125]

The 15th Corps (without the 76th Ohio and its division) then marched eastward across the Oconee River to the Ogeechee River and followed the west bank of that river to the mouth of the Cannouchee River and then eastward to Savannah and the sea.[126] During their march, Union soldiers were never wanting of food, as Private Willison of the 76th Ohio remembered:

> . . . it need not be said that we "fared sumptuously every day." There was no lack of smoked hams, fresh pork, turkeys, chickens, sweet potatoes, molasses, honey, etc. — farm products of all kinds. Forage abundant and all the conditions so favorable that according to official report the condition of horses and mules with our army was improved at least twenty-five per cent by the time we reached Savannah.[127]

Throughout this time, Confederate soldiers from the state militia and cavalry units tried unsuccessfully to stop or slow the Union advance.[128] But nothing could slow their advance, and the magnitude of destruction and cruelty inflicted upon the residents of Georgia was difficult for even some Union soldiers to justify. One wrote, "The cruelties practiced on this campaign toward the citizens have been enough to blast a more sacred cause than ours. We hardly deserve success." [129] But Sherman was determined, saying that:

> War is cruelty and you cannot refine it ... We cannot change the hearts of these people of the South, but we can make war so terrible and make them so sick of war that generations will pass before they again appeal to it.[130]

After only 26 days on the march, Sherman's army reached Savannah, Georgia on December 18, 1864.[131] Their occupation of the city began three days later.[132] During their 425-mile march to the sea, Sherman's army caused approximately 100 million dollars worth of damage.[133] The South would never forgive nor forget.

Sometime between November 21st and December 18th, the 76th Ohio left their rear guard assignment in Griswoldville and followed the remainder of the army to Savannah. Private Charles Willison remembered that "brigade headquarters were established in the southwest part of the city, but the 76th was encamped about two miles distant on the bank of the Savannah River." [134] The last few days of 1864 were uneventful for soldiers of the 76th Ohio. Their long march was over, and their only duty was to perform provost guard duty in Savannah.[135]

WILSON BENJAMIN ENDURES WINTER CAMP

Company D — 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment — Brigade unknown — 1st Division (Brigadier General James Clifford Veatch) — Reserve Corps, until February 18, 1865; 13th Army Corps (Major General Gordon Granger) — Army of the Gulf, also known as the Military Division of Western Mississippi (Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby).[136]

By the time Wilson Benjamin joined the 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, the war was winding down and the regiment had fought nearly all of its difficult battles. According to the Adjutant General's Report, the 8th Illinois left their camp at the mouth of the White River in Arkansas on October 18, 1864 and proceeded upriver to Memphis, Tennessee.[137] As best I can determine, Wilson joined the regiment there on or about October 24, 1864, as stated in the Company D Muster Roll for September/October, 1864.[138]

It is difficult to know what the attitude of the veteran soldiers was to Wilson's presence. Some had a strong bias against the draftees, or "conscripts," as they were known. However, according to Historian Irvin Bell Wiley:

> If the conscripts proved themselves worthy men and good soldiers, as they frequently did, they were usually able to overcome prejudice and win full acceptance among their volunteer associates.[139]

Almost immediately, Wilson began to feel the ill effects of camp life. Records show that from October 31st to November 5th, he suffered from acute diarrhea. From November 28th through the 30th, he suffered from intestinal fever (influenza). He would have several more digestive ailments in the summer and fall of 1865.[140]

Wilson joined the 8th Illinois at a very quiet time in its regimental history. The 16th Corps, to which the 8th Illinois had been assigned since early 1864, was de-activated on November 7, 1864.[141] The regiment would not be called into active duty again until February of 1865, when it was assigned to the 1st Division of the 13th Army Corps — the same corps as Samuel's but a different division.[142]

The 8th Illinois camped at Fort Pickering until October 29th, when it was ordered back to the White River encampment. On November 9th, the regiment went to a place called Du Vall's Bluff, remained there until November 28th, and was then ordered back to Memphis. On December 29th, the regiment marched eastward to the little town of Moscow, Tennessee, where Wilson Benjamin spent his first New Year away from home.[143]

1864 (Part III)

JACOB LAFOLLETTE: PRISONER OF WAR

The Battles of Mansfield (aka Sabine Crossroads) on April 8th and Pleasant Hill on April 9th on the fields near Mansfield, Louisiana had killed 263 and wounded 1,425 Union soldiers. The Confederates had captured 20 artillery pieces, hundreds of small arms, about 150 wagons filled with supplies, and nearly 1,000 horses and mules. But much more than matériel had been lost. Following the two days of fighting, 1,916 Union soldiers were missing, most having been captured by Confederate forces on the first day of fighting.[1]

Colonel Landram's 4th Division and Colonel Emerson's 1st Brigade had been in the forefront of the fighting. Within those ranks of unfortunate men, the 77th Illinois had the sad duty to report 9 dead, 17 wounded, and 143 men taken prisoner during those two days, as William Bentley lamented:

> These men — one hundred and forty-three in number — were captured at different times during the progress of the battle. Those who were first taken were marched to the rebel rear, and placed under guard in an open field about a mile from Mansfield, where they remained during the night, while those who were taken later in the day were marched into the town and placed in the court-house and the yard surrounding it.[2]

One of the men who had been captured was Jacob LaFollette, the older of the two LaFollette brothers of Company K. (See Figure 32). He was one of seven men in Company K who would spend the next thirteen months in the largest Confederate prisoner of war camp west of the Mississippi River — Camp Ford, near Tyler, Texas.[3]

Camp Ford had been established in the spring of 1862 as a training camp for new Confederate recruits. Probably during the first half of 1863, the decision was made to use this wide-open space in Texas as an internment camp for enemy soldiers captured in the western theater of the war. The month of August, 1863 saw the first Union prisoners arrive. Compared to other Civil War internment camps, Camp Ford had relatively good sanitary conditions and little illness, at least in its first six months when the number of prisoners was small. Union prisoners even built log cabins for shelter at the camp, as shown by James McClain's woodcut.[4] (See Figures 30 and 31).

However, when the approximately 1,100 men captured during the Red River campaign arrived in sight of the stockade, they were not very favorably impressed by the surroundings:

Figure 30: This wood cut engraving (subsequently turned into a lithograph) of Camp Ford, Texas was drawn by James S. McClain of the 120th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, who was captured by Confederate forces on May 3, 1864 and held prisoner until the final (post-war) exchange on May 27, 1865.

> Inside the pen there were a few log cabins and "dug-outs," crowded closely together in one corner, while the balance of the enclosed space was but recently cleared of timber, full of stumps and brush heaps.[5]

Camp Ford was a stockade, an enclosure formed by heavy timbers split in halves and set firmly in the ground on end. Originally, it contained only three acres, but had recently been enlarged to six or seven, in order to accommodate more prisoners. Prior to their arrival, the camp contained about six hundred prisoners.[6] Soon the number of prisoners would triple.

Although he was not one of the unfortunate prisoners of war, William Bentley of Company I would interview those prisoners after the war to obtain a first-hand account of their experience, which he would include in his regimental history of the 77th Illinois. Here are a few quotes from Bentley's book that summarize their experience at Camp Ford:

> Colonel Allen, the commandant of the prison. . . gave them a formal introduction to their new quarters. He stated that each regiment would be allowed the length of ground it occupied, and fifteen or twenty feet in width. . . [Our] boys could see very little prospect of comfort with no shelter, with no bed but the bare ground, and no covering but the starry heavens.[7]

Figure 31: Close-up of McClain's wood cut engraving of Camp Ford.

Figure 32: An ambrotype of Jacob LaFollette, posted onto *Ancestry.com* by user ClydeHendricks.

> For some time after their arrival, a few guards were detailed each day to take out small parties to the timber to carry in poles and brush to make a shelter from the sun by day. . . But this was slow and tedious work, and only the most determined succeeded in the enterprise, and for many months most of the men were without shelter of any kind, and during the cool nights they were compelled to keep in motion, or huddle closely together around their scanty fire to keep warm.[8]
>
> Fresh arrivals of prisoners came in frequently during the summer. On the 9th of July, six hundred of those who had been longest in prison, were sent forward for exchange, and again on the first of October, about the same number. Major Mann, of the 19th Kentucky, was one of these. He had been in command of the prisoners and of the internal arrangements of the camp up to this time. After his departure, Captain J. M. McCulloch, of the 77th, was appointed to succeed him. As chief executive of the inside of the stockade, he had limited power to regulate the domestic institutions of the camp, and to be a medium of communication between the prisoners and the Commandant.[9]

> [The Commandant eventually] allowed four parties of eight or ten men each to go out in the forenoon and afternoon, and these men cut and carried timbers on their shoulders more than half a mile to build their cabins. This laborious work continued for about two months, when all the men had tolerably good winter quarters, and the appearance of the inside of the stockade was very much improved.[10]
>
> The rations consisted for the most part of cornmeal, beef, and salt. The ration for one man was a pint of cornmeal and from half a pound to a pound of beef, with nearly enough salt to season it. This was rather slim living, but slim as it was, they were sometimes put on "short rations." Is it any wonder that men starved to death in the prison-pens of the South?[11]
>
> The hospital was full to overflowing, and had to be enlarged. There were no sanitary supplies, and very little medicine.[12]
>
> The greatest number of prisoners at Camp Ford at one time was about 4,700. This number was reduced by exchanges from time to time, until only 1,700 remained.[13]

Fortunately, for the Union prisoners, the Civil War ended after about 13 months in captivity. Rumors began circulating in the early spring of 1865 that the war would soon end. Finally, in mid-May, the weary Union prisoners finally received the confirmation of their prayers.

> On the 13th of May, Captain Birchett, the paroling officer, came to the camp with a large mail and late Northern papers, confirming all the wild rumors they had heard. He informed them that they were to proceed at once to the mouth of Red River. Then a scene of joyous excitement was witnessed at Camp Ford. The war was at an end, their sufferings and privations were about to terminate.[14]

But it took a few days to organize the transportation that would be required to move everyone from the prison in Texas back to their native states up north. Eventually, a train of nine wagons arrived, and on May 17th they began their trek back to freedom. . . and home.

> From the mouth of Red River the prisoners proceeded to New Orleans, where they were quartered in cotton presses, awaiting orders from the authorities. Clothing was issued to them, but they received no pay. There was not much sympathy in this, for the men who had fought so gallantly at Mansfield and suffered so much at Camp Ford.[15]
>
> On the 5th of June an order came from General Canby for the officers and men of certain regiments paroled prisoners to proceed to Benton Barracks, at St. Louis, Mo. . . [The men of the 77th Illinois] arrived at St. Louis on the 12th of June.[16]

The final leg of the long journey brought the men back to their home state of Illinois, and eventually back to Peoria, where they had begun their Civil War experience nearly three years before.

> The members of the 77th were ordered to Springfield; and on the 17th of June were mustered out of the service, and received pay in full from the date of the last payment up to the time of their discharge. Thus after an imprisonment of thirteen months and nineteen days they were again free men, living under the protecting folds of the starry flag. From Springfield they went to their homes, where they arrived on the 8th of July, about two weeks in advance of the balance of the regiment.[17]

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1865

THE TRIO WELCOME 1865

For the first and only time during the Civil War, Samuel Kirkman, Job Benjamin and Wilson Benjamin each celebrated the New Year serving their country. However, they did so many miles apart. Samuel Kirkman undoubtedly enjoyed his New Year celebration the most, for his regiment was assigned guard duty in New Orleans. 325 miles to the north, Wilson Benjamin was encamped with this regiment east of Memphis, Tennessee. 475 miles southeast of there, Job Benjamin and his regiment were performing guard duty in Savannah, Georgia.

THE UNION PLAN TO CAPTURE MOBILE

Not long after Vicksburg surrendered in the summer of 1863, Ulysses Grant suggested to General-in-chief Henry Halleck that the Union armies be sent on a campaign against the Confederate seaport of Mobile, Alabama. For some time, Grant had hoped to command a Union army that would first capture Atlanta and then make its way for Mobile.[1]

However, his promotion to Lieutenant General in the spring of 1864 and subsequent transfer to the eastern theater of the war kept these events from happening.[2] Halleck decided to support a campaign into Louisiana and Texas instead — the ill-fated Red River Campaign.[3]

The first step toward Union occupation of Mobile was taken six months later, in August of 1864. In what would be known as the Battle of Mobile Bay, the Union navy, supported by land forces (including Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois), captured two rebel strongholds and took control of the waterways, giving the Union army a staging area for future assaults upon the city of Mobile.[4] These future assaults finally took place in the spring of 1865. Ironically, by the time that the city of Mobile was finally captured, the war was over. As Grant recalled years later:

> I had tried for more than two years to have an expedition sent against Mobile when its possession by us would have been of great advantage. It finally cost lives to take it when its possession was of no importance, and when, if left alone, it would within a few days have fallen into our hands without any bloodshed whatever.[5]

WILSON BENJAMIN PREPARES FOR THE MOBILE CAMPAIGN

Company D — 8th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment — Brigade unknown — 1st Division (Brigadier General James Clifford Veatch) — Reserve Corps, until February 18, 1865; 13th Army Corps (Major General Gordon Granger) — Army of the Gulf, also known as the Military Division of Western Mississippi (Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby).[6]

On January 1, 1865, the 8th Illinois left the Memphis area for New Orleans. They arrived there on January 4th and camped in the mud at Kennersville, Louisiana. There they remained for exactly one month.[7]

On or about February 8th, the 8th Illinois was assigned to the 1st Division of the Reserve Corps of the Army of the Gulf. The division was commanded by Brigadier General James Clifford Veatch. Just ten days later, with the same commander, the 8th Illinois was reassigned to the 1st Division of the 13th Corps. The overall Union commander of the Army of

the Gulf (also known as the Military Division of the Western Mississippi) was Edward Richard Sprigg Canby.[8] It was Canby who commanded the overall Union assault on Mobile.

The 8th Illinois remained at Kennersville, Louisiana until February 4th, when they moved to Lakeport on Lake Pontchartrain and were subsequently transported via the Gulf of Mexico to Dauphin Island at Mobile Bay.[9] Shortly after arriving at Mobile Bay, the 8th Illinois received a large number of recruits, making its ranks full. These new men soon learned their duties from the veterans, and the regiment was now one of the largest and most effective in the service.[10] The Company D Muster Roll for January/February, 1865 showed Wilson Benjamin to be one of the soldiers now preparing for the final assault on Mobile.[11]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN PREPARES FOR THE MOBILE CAMPAIGN

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Lieutenant Colonel John B. Reid) — 1st Brigade (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General William Plummer Benton) — Reserve Corps, until February 18, 1865; 13th Army Corps (Major General Gordon Granger) — Army of the Gulf, also known as the Military Division of Western Mississippi (Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby).[12]

On January 14, 1865, the 130th Illinois Volunteer Infantry was consolidated into the 77th Illinois, The combined regiment, which retained the designation of 77th Illinois, swelled by the addition of 473 men.[13] On February 10th, the regiment was marched in review of Thomas West Sherman (commanding the defenses of New Orleans), Stephen Augustus Hurlbut (commanding the Department of the Gulf), and Edward R.S. Canby (commanding the Department of the Western Mississippi). With spring fast approaching, the 77th Illinois was prepared for action at any time.[14]

On February 20th, the regiment received orders to march to Bull Head Landing, Louisiana. Private William Wiley described a humorous incident during the march that involved one of Samuel Kirkman's comrades in arms in Company K, whose carte de visite photograph was one of only 18 that Kirkman kept for the balance of his life:

> A good many of the boys had taken a parting swig with their friends before starting [the march] and could not step to the music very well. Especially Thomas Holt of Company K. He was so limber that his big knapsack would pull him back until he would double up like a jackknife and down he would go. But he struggled on to his feet again and came on.[15]

[Thomas J. Holt from Rosefield, Illinois is pictured in Appendix B].

After reaching Bull Head Landing, the regiment boarded the steamer *St. Mary*, which was the same vessel that had brought them from the sandy shores of Texas to Louisiana almost exactly one year before. During this voyage, the ship encountered a rather bad storm, causing much seasickness. On February 23rd, they landed at Fort Morgan, where they were organized into Canby's Union force.[16]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AND WILSON BENJAMIN PARTICIPATE IN THE MOBILE CAMPAIGN

On March 17, 1865, Canby, with 45,000 Union troops, began operations to capture the city of Mobile, Alabama. To do so, his Union troops had to defeat a Confederate defense of 10,000 soldiers, 300 guns, and five gunboats. The Union strategy was to send one column of 13,000 men under the command of Frederick Steele westward from Pensacola, Florida. Canby himself would lead the remaining 32,000 soldiers from the captured Fort Gaines and Fort Morgan northward along the east coast of Mobile Bay toward the Confederate bridgehead at Spanish Fort. The Union navy provided additional support for the land troops.[17] Both Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois and Wilson Benjamin's 8th Illinois marched with Canby column. Both regiments belonged to the same army corps, the 13th Corps, which was commanded by Major General Gordon Granger.[18]

Samuel Kirkman's 77th Illinois was now organized, along with the 28th Illinois, 96th Ohio, and 35th Wisconsin, into the 1st Brigade of the 3rd Division of the 13th Army Corps. On the 26th of March, the 77th Illinois' own Colonel Grier was commissioned Brevet Brigadier General, a promotion well earned by four years of faithful service. When Canby organized the expedition against Mobile, Colonel Grier was assigned to duty on his Brevet rank, and ordered to command the 1st Brigade, 3rd Division, 13th Army Corps. Colonel Grier retained command of that brigade throughout the campaign against Mobile.[19]

Although Wilson Benjamin served in the same 13th Army Corps as Samuel Kirkman, his regiment was part of the 1st Division rather than Kirkman's 3rd Division.[20]

Lieutenant William Bentley described the march toward Mobile:

> The march began at daylight. The roads were sandy and swampy. The country was covered with a dense growth of pines and underbrush.[21]

Because of wet weather, the progress was slow. Despite the construction of corduroy roads of felled trees, soldiers were occasionally required to become "brevet mules" to transport the supply wagons and artillery pieces. Despite the tough going, the troops made steady progress, and on March 22nd they camped on the east branch of the Fish River.[22]

Each subsequent day, the soldiers moved forward toward Spanish Fort, one of two remaining rebel positions guarding the city of Mobile. On the morning of March 26th, the Union troops began taking positions around the rebel fort. A.J. Smith's 16th Corps moved into position on the right flank of the Union army.[23] Henry Bertram, commanding the 2nd Division of the 13th Corps, occupied the left flank. The 1st and 3rd Division of the 13th Corps, commanded respectively by James Clifford Veatch, and William Plummer Benton, occupied the center position.[24] Since Wilson Benjamin belonged to the 1st Division and Samuel Kirkman belonged to the 3rd, they were in relative proximity to one another at this stage of the fighting. Private William Wiley described the actions of the 77th Illinois:

> We formed our lines around the rebel's works a mile or two back from the forts and threw up some breastworks by cutting logs and piling them up and throwing dirt over them. We worked until 10 pm and then our band got up on top of our works and serenaded the rebels.[25]

On the morning of March 27th, Samuel Kirkman's 3rd Brigade led their division's advance upon Spanish Fort. With little resistance, Union soldiers moved within a half mile of the rebel works and formed a new line behind the brow of a hill.[26] By that same evening, Spanish Fort was fully surrounded and besieged by Union troops. In addition to land forces, Union ironclads were positioned in the bay nearby. During the next few days, Union soldiers constructed

defensive works, brought siege guns into better positions, and exchanged frequent volleys with the enemy.[27] As William Wiley remembered,

> The rebels continued to shell us pretty heavy. We had to dig out places in the hillside and build bomb proofs out of logs by splitting logs and putting the halves over head and throwing dirt over them to sleep in and go into when the rebels shelled us too hard.[28]

A number of men from both the 8th and 77th Illinois were killed or wounded during these exchanges of gunfire.[29]

According to the Adjutant General's report, on March 30th, Wilson Benjamin's 8th Illinois was ordered away from Spanish Fort to take position in front of the other rebel stronghold, called Fort Blakely. His regiment reached their destination the following day and camped within four miles of this second rebel fort.[30] Their 1st Division was placed near the center of the Union line.[31]

The Union army was now laying siege to both rebel positions. Their strategy was to strike first at Spanish Fort, capture it, and then move enough troops to Fort Blakely to capture it. Six days after their arrival at Fort Blakely, the 8th Illinois moved into a different position at the rear of the fort and gradually extended their trenches (also known as saps) toward the fort, using a cylindrical device called a sap roller.[32]

Meanwhile, back at Spanish Fort, Samuel Kirkman and the 77th Illinois continued to skirmish daily with the enemy. On April 7th, William Wiley noted in his journal that "J.W. Avery and J.A. Lindsay of our company [C] were detailed as clerks in the division quartermasters department." [33] J. William Avery, who may have worked beside Samuel Kirkman in the brigade quartermaster's department, was likely another friend of Kirkman's. [The carte de visite photograph that Private Avery exchanged with Samuel Kirkman is shown in Appendix B].

The evening of April 8, 1865 brought the onset of an intense Union bombardment of the rebel works, using 53 siege guns, 37 field artillery pieces, a barrage of rifle muskets, and gunboats.[34] At about 5:30 p.m., the 16th Corps, led by A.J. Smith, charged the rebel lines and captured the rebel works along with 200 prisoners.[35] By midnight, Spanish Fort was in Union hands.[36] Now the army could direct its efforts upon the one remaining rebel stronghold — Fort Blakely.

On April 9, 1865, Samuel Kirkman's 3rd Division marched to join Union troops (including Wilson Benjamin) who were already besieging Fort Blakely.[37] With a total force of 45,000 men, Canby ordered a general assault on Fort Blakely, to begin at 5:30 p.m.[38] The assault was made by the 1st and 2nd Divisions of the 13th Army Corps and by General Hawkins' Division of black soldiers.[39]

According to Private William Wiley, the 77th Illinois was misdirected down the wrong road, and they had to turn around and retrace their steps. "We arrived at Fort Blakely about 5 o'clock p.m.," Wiley explained, "but too late to take part in the assault on the fort." [40]

The 77th Illinois, as well as the entire 3rd Division, was held in reserve. Wilson Benjamin's division took an active part in the assault on Fort Blakely, and his was one of the first regiments to plant its colors on the rebel earthworks. In doing so, 10 soldiers from the 8th Illinois were killed and 54 were wounded.[41] After a very short but intense fight, Fort Blakely fell, and Confederate soldiers soon began to evacuate the city of Mobile. The Battle of Fort Blakely, which is regarded as the final infantry battle of the Civil War, saw the death of 113 Union soldiers and the wounding of 516. Approximately 3,423 rebel soldiers were captured.[42] Fort Blakely is important to this story for another reason — it was the only major battle that Wilson Benjamin participated in.

As summarized by Canby, the Mobile Campaign resulted in the "capture of the enemy works at Spanish Fort and Blakely, the surrender of Mobile, the capture of more than 5,000

prisoners, 12 flags, nearly 300 pieces of artillery, several thousand stands of small arms, and large stores of ammunition and other materials of war." [43] However, these acquisitions would soon prove unimportant — the war was almost over.

THE WAR ENDS FOR WILSON BENJAMIN AND SAMUEL KIRKMAN

During the night of April 11th, both Samuel Kirkman and Wilson Benjamin marched about three miles below Fort Blakely to Stark's Landing, crossed Mobile Bay on troop transports, and landed the next morning at Cat Fish Point, just below the city of Mobile.[44] Along with the remainder of Veatch's 1st Division, Wilson Benjamin's 8th Illinois was one of the first regiments to enter the city on April 12, 1865 and was subsequently placed in command of the city. Here it remained, performing patrol and guard duty and undertaking a thorough company and battalion drill, until May 27th, when it embarked again for Lakeport.[45]

While Wilson Benjamin occupied Mobile, Samuel Kirkman's division was ordered to march eight miles up the Tombigbee River to Whistler's Station on April 13, 1865. Samuel Kirkman's brigade led the march with their own 77th Illinois band furnishing music as they marched. They reached Whistler's Station at 1 p.m., where they engaged a rebel cavalry force. The Union forces tried to capture the retreating Confederates, but could not. Three Union soldiers and four Confederate soldiers were killed in the brisk fight, which was the last engagement that the 77th Illinois fought in the Civil War.[46] On their return march to Mobile, Colonel Grier was promoted from brigade command to command the 3rd Division. He would retain that status for the remainder of the war.[47]

Rumors were now circulating that the Confederate armies had surrendered. Lieutenant William Bentley summed up the soldier's feelings by noting, "so much good news coming so soon after our own victories made the boys feel jubilant." [48] Pension records indicate something else as well. According to Samuel Kirkman, he began to experience a little deafness shortly after leaving Vicksburg in 1863. This condition worsened slightly until 1864, when it began to deteriorate quickly at or near Mobile, Alabama. In March of 1865, he contracted a severe cold during the siege and capture of Spanish Fort, which ultimately led to total deafness in his left ear and (perhaps) some deafness in his right ear. At first, Kirkman gave the matter little if any attention, thinking the condition would soon pass. By the time he realized that the condition was not going away, he felt the regimental doctors could do little good for him. By his own admission, he had a horror of doctors and hospitals.[49]

Samuel Kirkman's apprehension toward army surgeons and doctors was not uncommon. A sizable percentage of soldiers disliked doctors and believed their medical practices to be worthless.[50] It is not clear whether or not the hearing loss that Samuel Kirkman described endured for the remainder of his life or gradually lessened. His granddaughter, Margaret (Kirkman) Anderson, did not recall him having any hearing difficulties in his later years.[51]

JOB BENJAMIN AND THE CAROLINAS CAMPAIGN

Company C — 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Lieutenant Colonel Edward Briggs) — 1st Brigade (Colonel William Burnam Woods) — 1st Division (Brigadier General Charles Robert Woods) — 15th Army Corps (Major General John Alexander Logan) — Right Wing, Army of the Tennessee (Major General Oliver Otis Howard)[52]

After delivering the city of Savannah, Georgia as a "Christmas gift" to President Lincoln, Sherman was ordered to begin a campaign northward to unite with the federal armies operating near Richmond in a concerted effort to destroy Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. Grant's initial plan was to send Sherman's troops to Virginia via transport ships rather than by foot. When transports were found to be scarce, however, Sherman suggested that his army begin a march through the Carolinas, to which Grant subsequently approved.[53]

In preparation for this new campaign through the Carolinas, the 76th Ohio broke camp on January 9th and embarked on the gunboat "Winona" for Beaufort, South Carolina. From Beaufort, the regiment marched to Gardner's Corners, where they awaited the onset of the campaign.[54]

Marching through the Carolinas would not be as easy as their march through Georgia. The weather was bad, the roads were impassable, and the land yielded less to eat and steal. Even more ominous was the fact that Sherman's federal armies faced a Confederate army vastly superior to the skirmishers he had encountered in Georgia.[55] Although the Confederates had at least 22,500 men opposing Sherman's Federals, they were scattered throughout the Carolinas. Before they could be consolidated, Sherman's army crossed into South Carolina.[56]

Charles Willison of the 76th Ohio described the change in attitude once the Union troops entered the Palmetto State:

> On entering South Carolina it was made apparent that the Union troops were displaying a notably different temper than in any of their previous campaigns. . . No harm was done to people in their homes, and such homes were not molested. . . But unoccupied property and all property considered of use to the Confederate armies was ruthlessly destroyed.[57]

With an army composed of 60,000 troops and 2,500 supply wagons, Sherman began the march northward on February 1, 1865.[58] To confuse the enemy, Sherman divided his army into two columns. The right wing (including Job Benjamin's regiment) moved in the direction of Charleston, while the left wing moved toward Augusta. The actions of both wings were feinting maneuvers to disguise the army's true destination — Columbia, South Carolina.[59]

Sherman's army, fighting rebel skirmishers and high water, continued to make progress against all odds. Historian Geoffrey Ward described the amazing accomplishments of his army:

> Nothing seemed to slow Sherman's soldiers. Battalions of axmen hacked down whole forests to construct corduroy roads for the artillery pieces and supply wagons to move along.[60]

Sherman and his men were determined to press on. Most Union soldiers blamed South Carolina for the cause of the war. "When I go through South Carolina," Sherman promised, "it will be one of the most horrible things in the history of the world." [61] "The truth is," he continued, "the whole army is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance upon South Carolina. I almost tremble at her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems in store for her." [62] Historian Victor Hicken described the damage inflicted by Union troops:

> The presence of such emotions did not bode well for South Carolina. By February 11th, various little towns along the Charleston railroad — McPhersonville, Hickory Hill, Brighton, Hardeeville, and Barnwell — lay smoldering in ruins. In Hardeeville, one of the larger wooden churches was torn down plank by plank until, in one big roar, its framework crashed to the ground.[63]

Confederate resistance was still only sporadic.[64] As Private Willison recalled,

> In the course of three or four days we crossed the North Edisto near Orangeburg, meeting with some resistance there. From here nothing worthy of note occurred until we arrived within five or six miles of Columbia. . . Here, lively skirmishing opened up on the 14th.[65]

On February 16, 1865, Union troops reached the city of Columbia, South Carolina. Job Benjamin's division, commanded by Charles R. Woods, was among the first Union troops in that city following its surrender. As Federal troops marched through the outskirts of the city, they passed an abandoned prison for Federal soldiers that the rebels called Camp Sorghum. Seeing the deplorable condition of the prison camp to which their fellow Union soldiers had recently been imprisoned infuriated the marching soldiers.[66]

On the night of February 17, 1865, a fire broke out in federally occupied Columbia that destroyed nearly half the city. Both sides blamed the other for starting the fire.[67] Charles Willison expressed little doubt as to the source of this fire:

> To my mind there is no question but that the Confederate authorities were themselves responsible for its start. In abandoning the city they had set fire to a lot of cotton. The day was clear and a very stiff wind blowing. As we marched into the city this cotton was being blown and scattered in large flakes. . . [The fire having] started by such means, I have no doubt our exasperated soldiers — some of them — may have had a hand in keeping it going.[68]

With some soldiers fighting fires and other soldiers starting them, it was a chaotic and terrible night for residents.[69] Private Willison witnessed this sad scene:

> All in all, pandemonium reigned that night, and it was indeed a pitiable one for the helpless residents, mostly women and children, driven from comfortable houses and made destitute. My heart went out to them as I saw them huddled on their porches or in front of their homes, fearfully watching the advancing flames, ready to flee. But such is war.[70]

For four days thereafter, soldiers of the 76th Ohio performed guard duty in the smoldering city.[71]

On February 23rd, Joseph Johnston was brought back to active duty to command the Confederate forces in the Carolinas, at General Lee's request.[72] Like his previous assignment to defend Atlanta from Sherman's army, Johnston had an impossible task to perform against overwhelming odds. Fighting on sheer determination and dwindling rations, the remaining soldiers of the rebel army faced a Union army that Johnston conceded, "has not existed since the days of Julius Caesar." [73]

After destroying the railroad near Columbia, Sherman's troops marched in a northeasterly direction toward the small town of Cheraw, South Carolina. Heavy rains slowed their march and delayed their arrival there until March 3rd. In response to this federal movement, Johnston ordered Confederate forces to concentrate near Fayetteville, North Carolina. However, delays in getting the rebel forces there frustrated the Confederate defense strategy.[74]

The crossing of the Federal army into North Carolina marked another dramatic change in the attitude of the soldiers. North Carolina, they were reminded, was one of the last states to join the Confederacy, and there were many Union sympathizers living within its borders.[75] Because of this, the number of atrocities dropped dramatically. On March 12th, the 76th Ohio arrived at Fayetteville, North Carolina, joining other divisions that had arrived the day before.[76] There, federal troops destroyed machinery and transport facilities while they awaited further orders.[77]

With one column feinting a northward march toward Raleigh, the remaining two columns of Sherman's army left Fayetteville on March 15th and marched northeasterly toward their next objective — Goldsboro, North Carolina.[78] That same day, the 76th Ohio and their 15th Corps

crossed the Cape Fear River. On the following day, March 16th, soldiers from the 20th Army Corps fought a surprisingly fierce struggle with rebel forces near Averasboro. On March 19th, Sherman's left column, commanded by Henry Warner Slocum, ran up against the bulk of the Confederate army just outside Bentonville. Johnston's plan was to defeat this wing of Sherman's army before it could be reinforced. However, the federal soldiers entrenched and held their ground.[79]

The 15th Corps was immediately ordered westward to reinforce Slocum's army. On the morning of March 20th, the 15th Corps, led by the 76th Ohio's 1st Division, took position beside Slocum's 14th Corps, ending Johnston's hope of crushing Sherman's left wing.[80] Bentonville proved to be the last major rebel attempt to stop Sherman's advance.[81] On the night of March 21st, Confederate forces withdrew in the direction of Smithfield.[82]

On March 23rd, Sherman's army reached Goldsboro and joined forces with the 10th and 23rd Corps arriving from the North Carolina seacoast.[83] On April 10th, the day after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Sherman's army turned northwesterly to Raleigh.[84] The 76th Ohio remained in Raleigh until Johnston's surrender on April 26, 1865.[85]

Many historians consider William Tecumseh Sherman to have been one of the Union's greatest generals, primarily because of the skill he demonstrated in the Carolinas Campaign. Military historian Mark Boatner III summarized the amazing accomplishments of this campaign:

> From Savannah to Goldsboro, the Grand Army of the West had marched 425 miles in 50 days, of which 10 were allocated to rest ... The march through the Carolinas had been one continuous battle with the elements, and must be reckoned a much greater achievement than the more famous march through Georgia, which by comparison was a mere pleasure trip. As a triumph of physical endurance and mechanical skill on the part of the army and of inflexible resolution in the general, it stands unrivaled in the history of modern war.[86]

THE WAR ENDS FOR SAMUEL KIRKMAN

Company K — 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry Regiment (Lieutenant Colonel John A. Burdett) — 1st Brigade (Colonel David Perkins Grier) — 3rd Division (Brigadier General William Plummer Benton) — 13th Army Corps (Major General Gordon Granger) — Army of the Gulf, also known as the Military Division of Western Mississippi (Major General Edward Richard Sprigg Canby).[87]

On April 23, 1865, during their return march from Whistler's Station, the soldiers of the 77th Illinois learned about the assassination of President Lincoln. Lieutenant William Bentley described their feelings:

> Upon him, more than upon any other man, had we depended for the salvation of the country during the last four years. He had stood bravely at the helm through all the storms; and now to be stricken down by the cowardly assassin, instigated by southern traitors, just as he was bringing the old ship of state safely into the harbor, seemed to be too much to endure.[88]

On April 25th, the brigade marched farther up along the Tombigbee River for McIntosh Bluff, where the stars and stripes were raised over the headquarters of their division commander, William P. Benton. Many local residents, realizing that the end of the war was near, approached the Union armies to take the oath of allegiance.[89] The official surrender of Confederate Richard Taylor to General Canby took place on May 4th in Citronelle, Alabama.[90]

In William Wiley's journal entry for May 6, 1865, he noted,

> A national salute was fired on account of the surrender of the department of the Gulf by the rebels to Gen. E.R.S. Canby. All hostilities were ordered to cease and we felt our work was done.[91]

On May 9th, soldiers of the 77th Illinois boarded either the *St. Nicholas* or *St. Charles* transport boat to return to Mobile.[92] Upon arrival there, Private Wiley described the appearance of the dispirited Confederate soldiers:

> The rebel soldiers were coming in from all directions. . . The most of them looked pretty sad. They looked pretty badly used up. Their old butternut clothes were all in rags. They felt very different from what we did. They had staked there [sic] all and lost it and were beating there way back as a vanquished army to desolate homes and [they] were expecting soon to return as a conquering host to pleasant homes.[93]

On May 25th, while the 77th Illinois was camped about two miles from Mobile, they were witness to a terrible explosion. A large warehouse in the northeast part of the city filled with ammunition and gunpowder somehow ignited, causing an explosion so great that it destroyed nine blocks of the city and killed several hundred people. As Private William Wiley described,

> We were something over two miles [away] and the concussion nearly took the tops of our heads off... One of our company Wm Avery [see his photo in Appendix B] was down in the city at the time with one of the commissary teams and him and his team had a very narrow escape.[94]

On June 1st, several officers who had been captured during the Red River Campaign and had spent over a year in a Confederate prison in Tyler, Texas rejoined the 77th Illinois. Just over two weeks later, they would be mustered out of the army and transported back home to Illinois.[95]

On June 3rd, the troops were reviewed by General Gordon Granger, in part to honor Chief Justice Salmon Chase, who was visiting Mobile. The veteran soldiers, aware that such reviews were often a prelude to more fighting, asked one another, "What next?" [96]

But instead of more fighting, Colonel David Grier (now Brevet Brigadier General Grier) brought back good news from New Orleans. He had met with General Philip H. Sheridan and had succeeded in having a special order issued to muster out the 77th Illinois. Only one other regiment in their division — the 96th Ohio — would be mustered out at this same time.[97] The order was issued on June 23, 1865.[98] Samuel Kirkman could finally breathe a sigh of relief. He was coming home!

On July 10, 1865, Samuel Kirkman and his fellow soldiers of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry were mustered out of the army in Mobile, Alabama.[99] (See Figure 33). Private William Wiley described the excitement that he and his comrades felt that day:

> This was a day that we had long looked forward to when we could feel that our work which we had enlisted to do was done and we could lay down our arms and return to our homes and we felt happy in the thought that our work was well done. . . We had done well our part in achieving a glorious victory in preserving and strengthening our institutions and restoring peace to our land and felt happy in the thought of soon returning to our homes and friends from whom we had been separated for three long weary years. But yet we could not keep a feeling of sadness at the thought of breaking up our organization and separating perhaps many of us never to meet again.[100]

The Muster-out roll for Samuel Kirkman read, "Last paid to Feb. 28. Clothing account last settled Dec. 31, 1863; drawn since $99.37. Due U.S. $19.12. Bounty paid $25.00; due $75.00." [101] (See Figure 34).

On July 12th, his regiment left camp, marched through the city and boarded the steamer *White Cloud* for New Orleans.[102] While en route to New Orleans that night, the 77th Illinois experienced another brush with death, as described by Lieutenant William Bentley:

> That night a storm came down upon us with relentless fury. The vessel rolled and tossed on the foaming billows. The 'hog chains' connecting the vessel fore and aft to prevent the ends from dipping broke, and the vessel opened just in front of the cabin wide enough for a man to crawl

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Soldier's Certificate of Honorable Discharge.

Know ye, that this is to certify That Samuel Kirkman, a Private of Captain Jacob H. Wilkins Company (K), 77th Regiment of Illinois Infantry Volunteers, who was enrolled on the 15th day of August, one thousand eight hundred and Sixty-two, to serve three years, or during the war, was Honorably Discharged from the military service of the United States on the 10th day of July 1865, at Mobile, Ala., by reason of Muster out of Co.

This CERTIFICATE is given under the Act of Congress, approved March 3, 1873, upon satisfactory proof that the soldier "has lost his Certificate of Discharge," or that it has been "destroyed without his privity or procurement." The same act of Congress provides that it "shall not be accepted as a voucher for the payment of any claim against the United States for pay, bounty, or other allowance, or as evidence in any other case."

Given at the Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Washington, D. C., this Fourteenth day of January, A. D. 1882

H. C. Corbin
Asst. Adjutant General.

Figure 33: Samuel Kirkman's Honorable Discharge.

K | 77 | Ill.

Samuel Kirkman

Pvt., Co. K., 77 Reg't Illinois Inf.

Age 18 years.

Appears on **Co. Muster-out Roll,** dated

Mobile Ala., July 10, 1865.

Muster-out to date July 10, 1865.

Last paid to Feb. 28, 1865.

Clothing account:

Last settled Dec. 31, 1863; drawn since $ 29 37/100

Due soldier $ 00/100; due U. S. $ 19 12/100

Am't for cloth'g in kind or money adv'd $ 00/100

Due U. S. for arms equipments, &c., $ 00/100

Bounty paid $ 25 00/100; due $ 75 00/100

Remarks:

Book mark: 14 a 1863 1882.

Ed. Ford

(341) Copyist.

Figure 34: A copy of Samuel Kirkman's muster-out record. From the National Archives.

> through. Had the 500 men of the 19th Iowa been on board [they had left the boat protesting the transport of mules on the same boat] the probability is that the additional weight would have insured the destruction of all.[103]

Arriving safely in New Orleans the following afternoon, they immediately boarded the *Lady Franklin* for the trip upriver. As they floated up the Mississippi River, they could not help but notice the ruin and desolation caused by war. On July 17th, they briefly stopped at Vicksburg to take on coal; all soldiers certainly remembered their struggle there two years earlier.[104] On July 22nd, they arrived in Cairo, Illinois and "once more after an absence of nearly three years set foot on the soil of their own state." [105] They were immediately transported over land to Springfield, where they assembled at Camp Butler to await final muster out and payment.

On July 27, 1865, the soldiers of the 77th Illinois enjoyed their last night in camp. The following day, they would be transported back to Peoria and to their separate civilian lives once again. A festive farewell took place that evening. Soldiers procured a quantity of candles, which they placed throughout camp for illumination. Speeches were made, music was played, and the soldiers who had stood beside each other for nearly three years
said their goodbyes. The next day, each soldier marched to the paymaster's office, was paid, and became "citizens of full rank" once again.[106]

One final step remained — the return to Peoria. This took place on Saturday, July 29, 1865. Upon their arrival at 7 a.m., the returning 260 soldiers of the 77th Illinois marched to Rouses Hall, an opera house on the corner of Main and Jefferson streets, where the local Women's National League had prepared a royal welcome and bountiful breakfast — "a right royal greeting to stomachs so long inured to hard tack and salt pork." [107] After breakfast, the regiment reassembled in the nearby Court House Square for more speeches and regimental band music. Special tributes were paid to those soldiers who had not returned, particularly the regiment's lieutenant colonel Lysander Webb, who had been killed near Mansfield, Louisiana during the ill-fated Red River Campaign.[108]

Lieutenant William Bentley described his feelings at this final gathering:

> After the morning speeches, the boys disbanded; and the old 77th, except as a factor of the past in the history of our country's struggle, ceased to exist. For the deeds of her history, the war records must tell the story. We have written the last page, for our battles are all fought and our marches are all ended. As the years come apace, and in our declining years, if we should meet again in some bright day of reunion, though the furrows may mark our brows and the hair be grey, and the eyes lose some of their luster, yet the recalling of these eventful years will quicken the blood in its conduits and make us feel the spirit of youth's ambition again. We now go to our homes and to our industries, once more settling down as good citizens of a country we feel proud to call our own; a country purchased with sacrifices that are colored with the purple of noble lives. And may God grant that from henceforth, from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from Ocean to Ocean, it may be OUR COUNTRY, one and indivisible, now and forever.[109]

THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR

Students of history are often taught that the Civil War ended when Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant in Virginia on Sunday, April 9, 1865. Although this was certainly the most famous surrender of Confederate armies, there were to be several more before the Civil War could be called officially ended throughout the land.

On April 26, 1865, Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston formally surrendered to Major General William Tecumseh Sherman in North Carolina. Job Benjamin was in the Union army nearby that was affected by this Confederate surrender.

On May 4, 1865, Confederate forces commanded by Confederate Lieutenant Richard

Taylor surrendered to Edward R. S. Canby in Alabama, thus ending the Confederate fighting east of the Mississippi. Wilson Benjamin and Samuel Kirkman were in the Union army that was affected by that surrender.

The final Confederate force, commanded by Edmund Kirby Smith, surrendered to Major General Canby on May 26, 1865.[110] The Civil War had finally ended!

JOB BENJAMIN AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

On April 30, 1865, the Army of the Tennessee broke camp in North Carolina, marched across Virginia, and arrived in Washington D.C. on May 23rd. Still assigned to the 15th Army Corps, the 76th Ohio participated in the grand review before the nation's capital and its new president, Andrew Johnson.[111] Private Charles Willison described this exciting event:

> To my mind no spectacle in the history of our nation can equal this [Grand Review] in stirring pathos, and no wonder that strong men went wild in their enthusiasm as the conquering hosts filed by. The shadow over it all was that our beloved Lincoln, who had so wonderfully conducted the "Ship of State" up to its safe harbor, could not witness it.[112]

Shortly thereafter, the 76th Ohio was transported back to Louisville, Kentucky, presumably to muster out those soldiers whose term of duty had expired.[113] Job Benjamin was not one of these fortunate soldiers. Because of his one year absence, Job Benjamin still owed the government six months of service from his original three year commitment.

Job Benjamin was evidently not pleased by the prospect of remaining with the army while many of his fellow soldiers returned home. The eye injury that he sustained eleven months earlier in the Battle of Atlanta probably diminished his interest in army life even further. After his return to Louisville, Job Benjamin deserted his regiment for the second time on either June 17 or 19, 1865. This second desertion ruined any chance of a government pension in later years.[114]

After his second desertion from the army, Job Benjamin returned to his family in Ohio. During the next ten years, he and his wife Elizabeth had two more children — Effie (b. April 4, 1866) and Lacy May (b. 1869). Sometime around 1870, Job Benjamin and his wife moved to Carrollton, Missouri, a small town in Carroll County approximately 65 miles east-northeast of Kansas City. It was here that Job Benjamin spent the remaining years of his life. While in Missouri, Job and Elizabeth had their three remaining children — Mary Elizabeth (b. September 8, 1870), Clemma Edith (b. February 12, 1873), and Sarah L. "Sallie" Benjamin (b. October 19, 1875).[115]

Carroll County, Missouri

Beginning in 1888, Job Benjamin (and later his widow) tried unsuccessfully to obtain a government pension for his Civil War service, based upon the gunshot wound he sustained in the Battle of Atlanta and the chronic respiratory problems he suffered following his bout with bronchitis in December of 1863. The chronology of their efforts, derived from pension records obtained from the National Archives in Washington, follows:

May 4, 1888. Personally appeared in front of Circuit Clerk John R. Edwards of Carroll County, Missouri, to contract the legal services of Washington, D.C. attorney George E. Lemon. In the presence of two witnesses (Robert P.

Carpenter and Alexander Bailey), Job Benjamin signed Articles of Agreement which allowed attorney George Lemon to represent him in proceedings to obtain an Original Invalid Pension (no. 655.759) from the United States government.

May 22, 1888. Application for Original Invalid Pension is filed in Washington, D.C. (See Figure 35).

July, 1888. Dr. Robert Holladay from Carrollton requested additional information about Job Benjamin's war injury from July, 1888. Dr. Robert Holladay from Carrollton requested additional information about Job Benjamin's war injury from the Bureau of Pensions, U.S. Department of the Interior. These were sent to him on July 7th. (See Figure 36).

August 1, 1888. Job Benjamin appeared in the office of Dr. Robert Holladay of Carrollton. He is examined by three doctors, who subsequently filed a Surgeon's Certificate describing Job Benjamin's disability. The examination confirmed total blindness in the right eye. In addition to describing the gunshot wound, the Surgeon's Certificate also made a reference to his respiratory ailments, apparently caused by the bronchitis that Job Benjamin contracted on the cold, rainy march to winter camp in December of 1863. This report stated that Job Benjamin showed no signs of bronchitis, but did indicate "severe chronic pharyngitis." [116] This Surgeon's Certificate is received in Washington on September 10th.

November 21, 1888. A three-page report is issued from the Adjutant General's Office of the War Department. This report described Job Benjamin's desertion and injuries, and denied him an honorable discharge because of his desertions. A War Department Notation, dated November 13, 1888, preceded this report. (See Figures 37 and 38).

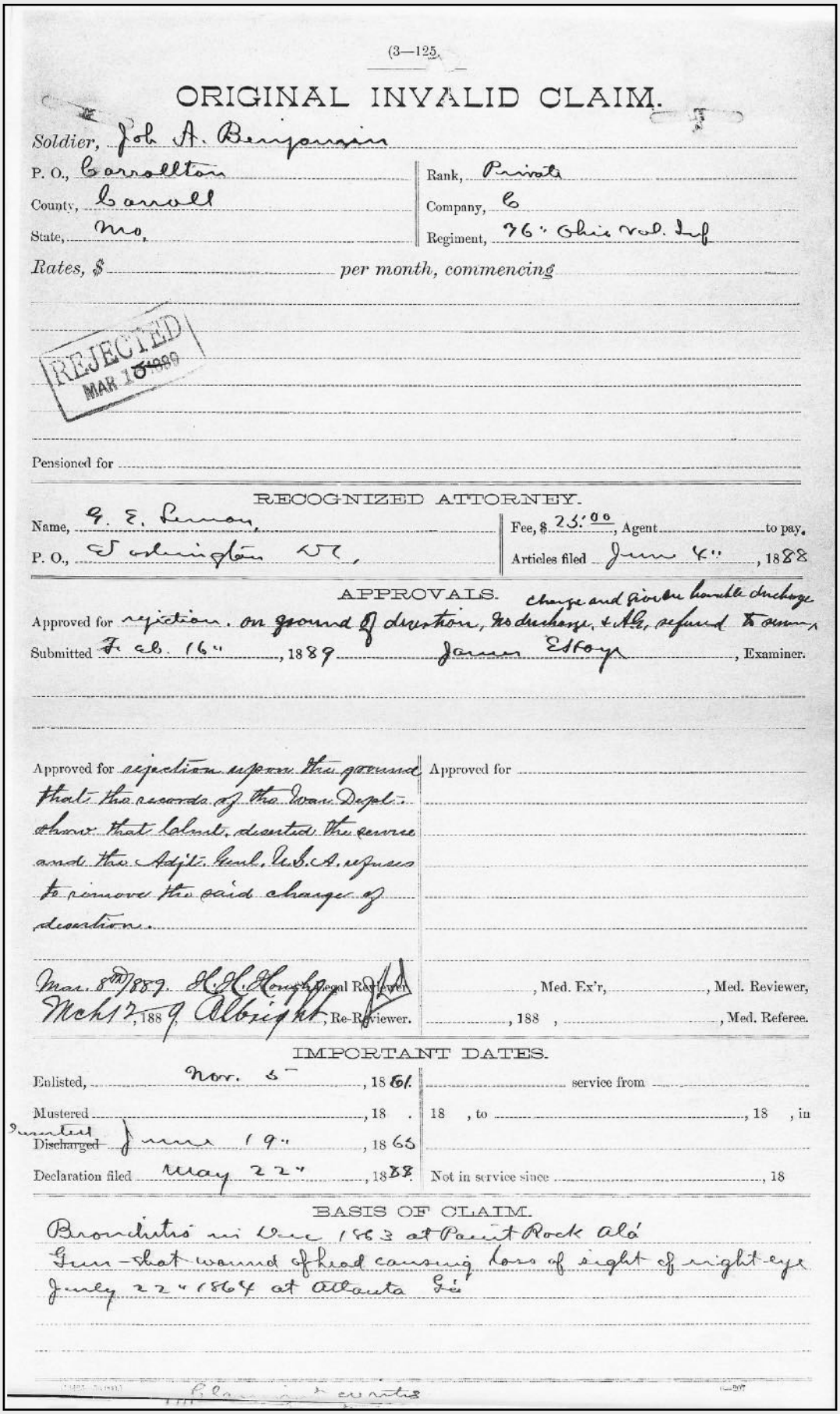
December 3, 1888. Additional medical evidence from Dr. J. Brown from Carrollton, Missouri is sent to attorney George Lemon. Dr. Brown described Job Benjamin's chronic bronchial and throat infections that he treated.

February, 1889. On February 12th, additional evidence is sent to attorney George Lemon — an affidavit of Isaac Preston, a fellow private in Job Benjamin's regiment. Mr. Preston briefly described Job Benjamin's injury in the Battle of Atlanta and how he helped Job Benjamin to the field hospital. Another Original Invalid Claim is submitted by attorney George Lemon. On March 10th, this claim was rejected.

August 27, 1891. Additional evidence was sent to attorney George Lemon — an affidavit of Miles Arnold, a 1st Lieutenant in Job Benjamin's regiment. Mr. Arnold briefly described Job Benjamin's injury in the Battle of Atlanta and vouches for Job Benjamin's character and bravery.

September 18, 1891. Personally appeared once again in front of the Circuit Clerk John R. Edwards of Carroll County, Missouri, to contract the legal assistance of a new attorney in Washington, D.C. — J.H. Soule from the firm of Soule and Company. In the presence of two witnesses, Thomas McGuire and John Little, Job Benjamin signed Articles of Agreement which allowed attorney J.H. Soule to represent him in proceedings to obtain an Original Invalid Pension (no. 655.759) from the United States government. The papers were received on September 26th. The affidavit of Miles Arnold, originally to be sent to George Lemon, was sent to Soule and Company instead. This document was received by the Pension Office on October 14th. This request was apparently rejected.

January 1, 1892. Job Benjamin died at Carrollton, Missouri at the age of 62.



(3—125.

ORIGINAL INVALID CLAIM.

Soldier, Job A. Benjamin

P. O., Carrollton | Rank, Private

County, Carroll | Company, C

State, Mo. | Regiment, 76th Ohio vol. Inf

Rates, $ ..... per month, commencing

REJECTED MAR 18 1889

Pensioned for .....

RECOGNIZED ATTORNEY.

Name, G. E. Lemon, | Fee, $ 25.00, Agent ..... to pay.

P. O., Washington DC, | Articles filed June 4th, 1888

APPROVALS.

Approved for rejection. on ground of desertion, Hs discharge, + AG, refused to cancel, charge and give an honorable discharge

Submitted Feb. 16th, 1889 James Estoy, Examiner.

Approved for rejection upon the ground that the records of the War Dept. show that Claimt. deserted the service and the Adjt. Genl. U.S.A. refuses to remove the said charge of desertion.

Mar. 8th 1889. H. H. Hough, Legal Reviewer. , Med. Ex'r, , Med. Reviewer,

March 12, 1889 Albright, Re-Reviewer. , 188 , , Med. Referee.

IMPORTANT DATES.

Enlisted, Nov. 8 , 1861. | service from

Mustered , 18 . | 18 , to , 18 , in

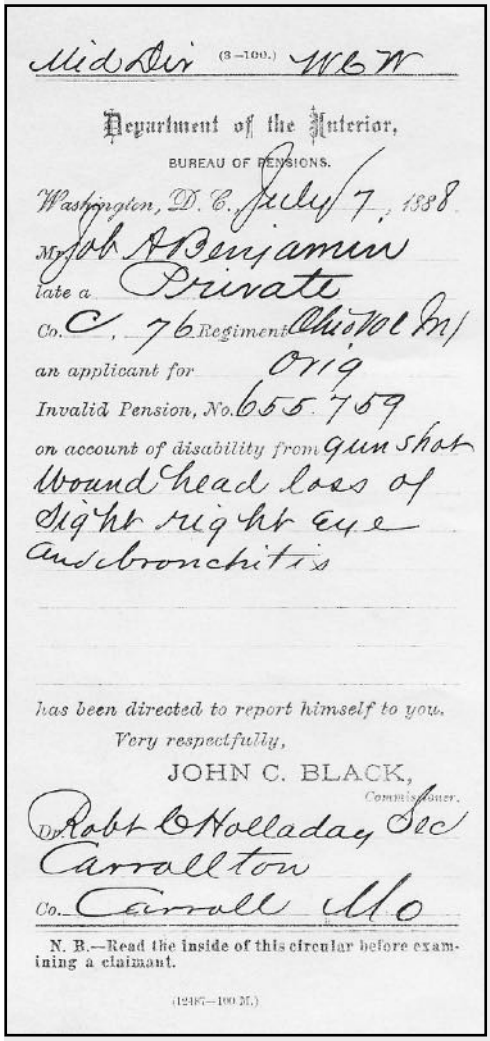
Discharged June 19th, 1865

Declaration filed May 22nd, 1888. | Not in service since , 18

BASIS OF CLAIM.

Bronchitis in Dec 1863 at Point Rock Ala
Gun-shot wound of head causing loss of sight of right eye
July 22nd 1864 at Atlanta Ga

Figure 35: A copy of Job Benjamin's unsuccessful Application for Original Invalid Pension on May 22, 1888. From the National Archives.



Mid Div (3–100.) WBW

Department of the Interior,

BUREAU OF PENSIONS.

Washington, D. C. July 7, 1888

Mr. Job A Benjamin

late a Private

Co. C, 76 Regiment Ohio Vol Inf

an applicant for Orig

Invalid Pension, No. 655 759

on account of disability from gun shot wound head loss of sight right eye and bronchitis

has been directed to report himself to you.

Very respectfully,

JOHN C. BLACK,

Commissioner.

Robt O Holladay Sec

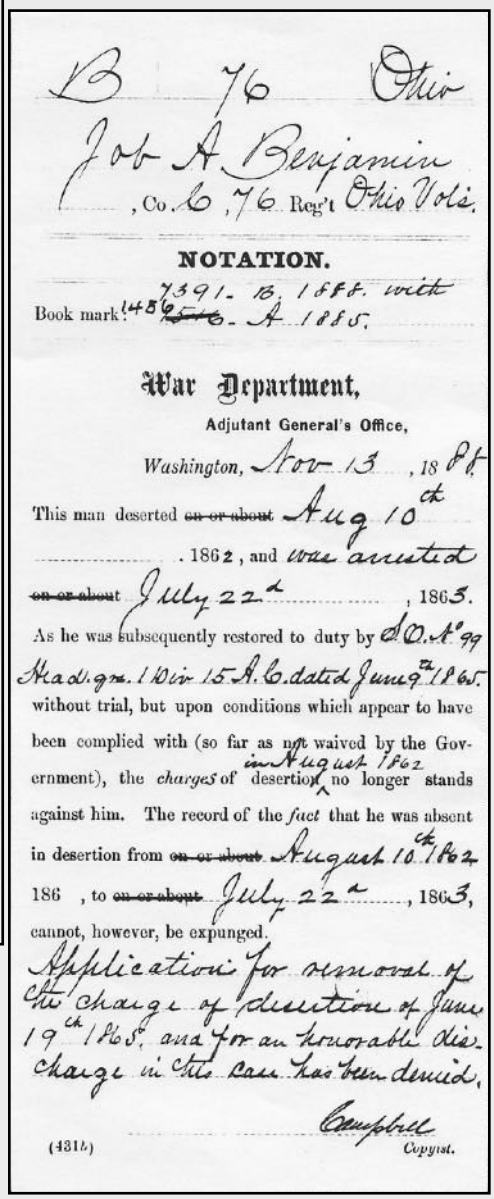
Carrollton

Co. Carroll Mo

N. B.—Read the inside of this circular before examining a claimant.

(12487—100 M.)

Figure 36: With evidence from doctors, Job Benjamin asserted that the wound he received in the Battle of Atlanta rendered him blind in one eye. Bureau of Pensions Form from the National Archives.



B 76 Ohio

Job A. Benjamin

, Co. B, 76 Reg't Ohio Vols.

NOTATION.

Book mark: 7391 - B. 1888. with 1486 5746 - A. 1885.

War Department,

Adjutant General's Office,

Washington, Nov 13, 1888

This man deserted ~~on or about~~ Aug 10th, 1862, and was arrested ~~on or about~~ July 22d, 1863.

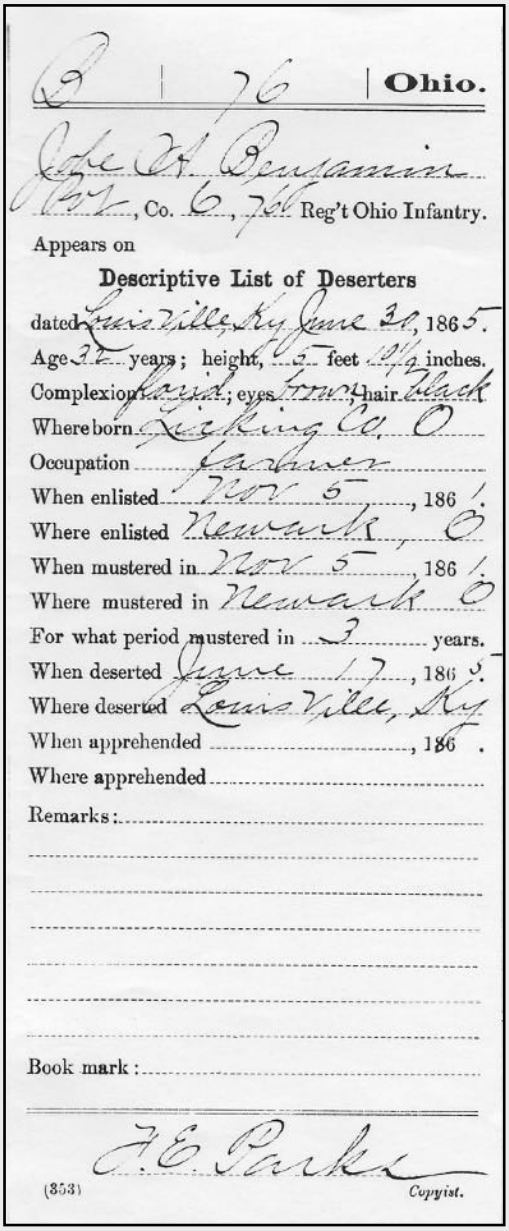
As he was subsequently restored to duty by S.O. A°99 Hd. Qrs. 1 Div 15 A. C. dated June 9th 1865. without trial, but upon conditions which appear to have been complied with (so far as not waived by the Government), the charges of desertion in August 1862 no longer stands against him. The record of the fact that he was absent in desertion from ~~on or about~~ August 10th 1862 186, to ~~on or about~~ July 22d, 1863, cannot, however, be expunged.

Application for removal of the charge of desertion of June 19th 1865, and for an honorable discharge in this case has been denied.

Campbell

(4318) Copyist.

Figure 37: The War Department's November, 1888 document notes that the charges of desertion in August of 1862 no longer stood against him, but his record could not be expunged. His second desertion in June of 1865 ended any chance he or his widow would ever receive a disability pension. From the National Archives.



B | 76 | Ohio.

John A. Benjamin

Pvt., Co. B, 76th Reg't Ohio Infantry.

Appears on

Descriptive List of Deserters

dated Louisville, Ky June 20, 1865.

Age 22 years; height, 5 feet 10½ inches.

Complexion fair; eyes brown; hair Black

Where born Licking Co. O

Occupation Farmer

When enlisted Nov 5, 186 1.

Where enlisted Newark, O

When mustered in Nov 5, 186 1.

Where mustered in Newark O

For what period mustered in 3 years.

When deserted June 17, 186 5.

Where deserted Louisville, Ky

When apprehended , 186 .

Where apprehended

Remarks:

Book mark:

A. E. Parks

(353) Copyist.

Figure 38: Job Benjamin's second desertion is documented in this copy of this List of Deserters document. From the National Archives.

April 16, 1895. Elizabeth Benjamin, Job's widow, personally appeared in front of Notary Public George Jacobs of Carrollton, to contract the legal assistance of a new attorney in Washington, D.C. — James E. Brophy. In the presence of two witnesses, Susan Bishop and C.J. Tomlin, Elizabeth Benjamin signed Articles of Agreement which allowed attorney James Brophy to represent her in proceedings to obtain a widow pension from the United States government. These papers were received in Washington on April 19th. This request was apparently rejected.

August 25, 1902. Elizabeth Benjamin appeared in front of Notary Public R. E. Buchanan of Carrollton, to contract the legal assistance of a new attorney in Washington, D.C. — William Conrad and Company. In the presence of two witnesses, Silas Ballarg and William McIntyre, Elizabeth Benjamin signed Articles of Agreement which allowed attorneys from Conrad and Co. to represent her in proceedings to obtain a widow's pension from the United States government. These papers were received in Washington on September 2nd.

Also on August 25th, a General Affidavit was filed by Susan Bishop, a neighbor of Elizabeth Benjamin's, that confirmed the death of Job Benjamin and Elizabeth's widow status.

September 3, 1902. The Bureau of Pensions established a widow's claim in the name of Elizabeth Benjamin.

October 10, 1902. The Bureau of Pensions denied Elizabeth Benjamin's request for a widow's pension.

January 13, 1914. Elizabeth Benjamin dies at the age of 81.[117]

WILSON BENJAMIN AFTER THE WAR

On May 29, 1865, the 8th Illinois camped on a race course just outside the city of New Orleans.[118] Two days later, the regiment left the city and proceeded up the Mississippi and Red Rivers to Shreveport, where it arrived on June 9th. On June 16th, it was ordered to Marshall, Texas, where it remained in camp, engaged in guard duty and occasional expeditions for the protection of government property and officials.[119]

Records show that Wilson Benjamin was stricken with intestinal fever from June 20th to 24th. On September 14th and 15th, he suffered a far more serious condition — acute dysentery — which was an all too common condition for Civil War soldiers. Luckily, he recovered rather quickly and was returned to duty.[120] The Company D Muster Roll for September/October, 1865, indicated that Wilson Benjamin was mustered out of the regiment on September 26, 1865 "by reason of expiration of service." [121] (See Figure 39).

When the 1870 Census was taken on August 11th, Wilson Benjamin had apparently left his wife Lydia and son William behind and moved in with his father and stepmother.[122] In 1872, his wife Lydia applied for a divorce in the Circuit Court of Peoria County, which was granted on May 13, 1872. Lydia married Henry S. Cole in 1873 and died on May 8, 1886.[123]

Sometime in 1870, Wilson moved westward to Marion County, Kansas.[124] According to genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois, Wilson left his wife and child because she wouldn't go west with him.[125]

Sometime between 1871 and 1874, Wilson married a women named Sophronia E. Gray (born in Indiana about 1857). They had a son together on July 25, 1874, whose name was given at various times during his life as either Alfred or Alpha Wilson Benjamin (1874–1940). It is not clear when Sophronia died or her whereabouts thereafter, but Roland and Maxine

B | 8 | Ill.

Willison Benjiman,

Pvt., Co. B, 8 Reg't Illinois Infantry.

Age 23 years.

Appears on **Co. Muster-out Roll,** dated

Baton Rouge, La. May 4, 1865.

Muster-out to date ....., 186 .

Last paid to Feb. 28, 1865.

Clothing account:

Last settled ....., 186 ; drawn since $.....100

Due soldier $.....100; due U. S. $.....100

Am't for cloth'g in kind or money adv'd $.....100

Due U. S. for arms, equipments, &c., $.....100

Bounty paid $.....100; due $.....100

Remarks: Mustered out Sept. 26, 1865, by reason of expiration of service.

Book mark:.....

Hastie

(361) *Copyist.*

Figure 39: A copy of Wilson Benjamin's muster-out record. From the National Archives.

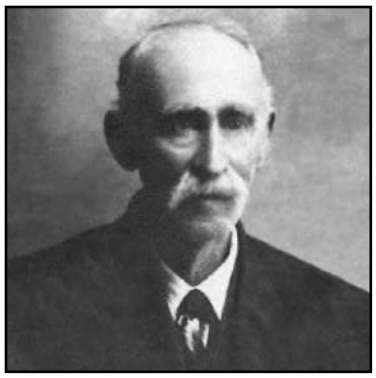


Figure 40: Wilson Benjamin in his elder years, adapted from a family photograph owned by Roland Benjamin.

Benjamin's research of Federal Census records revealed that Alpha Benjamin was living with an aunt and uncle in Missouri in 1880.[126]

Sometime between 1874 and 1877, Wilson Benjamin began reversing his first and last name and would go by the name of Benjamin Wilson for the remainder of his life. On December 24, 1877, records show that Benjamin Wilson (as he now called himself) married Margaret Brewer near Florence, Kansas in Marion County (45 miles northeast of Wichita). Justice of the Peace J.K. McLean performed the ceremony.[127] Benjamin Wilson was 36 years old. Margaret was only 15 years old, having been born on March 18, 1862 in Kansas to John Brewer and Rebecca Norris, who were originally from Indiana.[128] However, the marriage license declared that Margaret's age was 18 and Benjamin's was 30.

Benjamin Wilson and his new wife Margaret had a total of seven children, one of which died in infancy. Their family moved around fairly often, as evidenced by the birthplaces of each of their children. Their first two children, Florence E. (who was born in November of 1879) and Warren A. (born November 8, 1880) were born in Florence, Kansas. Their other children were Clifford L. (born dead on March 18, 1886 in Eldorado, Kansas), Clyde (born May 9, 1888 in Eldorado, Kansas), Cecil A. (born August 18, 1890 in Guthrie, Oklahoma), Ralph L. (born February 7, 1895 in Lincoln County, Oklahoma), and Clara M. (born January 3, 1899 in Lincoln County, Oklahoma).[129] The latter two children were likely born near the town of Sparks, Oklahoma in Lincoln County (40 miles east-northeast of Oklahoma City). Sparks is the town that Margaret Wilson listed as her residence on government pension forms. While living in Kansas and Oklahoma, Benjamin Wilson practiced the trade of a stonecutter.[130]

Unlike Job Benjamin, Benjamin Wilson was eligible for a pension and received one (pension certificate 1,077,128). On February 4, 1911, Benjamin Wilson approached O.H. Hill, a Notary Public in the town of Sparks, and reapplied for his pension. Apparently, this was done to comply to new government regulations.[131] His monthly pension at the time was $32.[132]

Benjamin Wilson died on May 22, 1919 at the age of 78. He apparently died in Hope, Arkansas (in the southwestern part of the state) and was transported back to Sparks, Oklahoma for burial in White Dove Cemetery.[133]

On June 9, 1919, 18 days after her husband's death, Margaret Wilson approached the local Notary Public and filed a claim for a widow's pension. She evidently received a pension of $40 per month for the remainder of her life.[134] Margaret died of intestinal cancer on November 24, 1935 at the age of 73.[135]

SAMUEL KIRKMAN AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

For Samuel Kirkman, the return “to home and industry” meant a return to farming his land in Kickapoo Township. On February 21, 1867, at the age of 21, he married Louisa Greenhalgh (born February 24, 1845) in Peoria, Illinois, with Reverend J.H. Morron performing the ceremony. Like her husband, Louisa had also been born in Bolton, Lancashire, England. The Kirkmans had three children who survived infancy — Alice Ann (born November 28, 1868); Mary (or “Millie”) (born May 19, 1870); and Robert B. (born August 25, 1873).[136] Another child, Alfred, died in infancy in 1875.[137] In 1870, the couple moved to Richwoods Township. In 1874, they moved back to Kickapoo Township, and in 1898 they moved to Logan Township.[138] Pension records imply his residence as Kickapoo from May of 1879 through December of 1889, his residence as Edwards in October of 1890, and his residence as Trivoli from December of 1902 and thereafter.[139]

Because of his honorable discharge, Samuel Kirkman was eligible for a government pension and received one (pension certificate 198,038). The chronology of his efforts, derived from pension records obtained from the National Archives in Washington, follows:

May 29, 1879. Personally appeared in front of the Clerk of the Peoria County Court to apply for a government pension. He was represented by Peoria attorney Chauncey Nye and the document was witnessed by William Harper and Peter Hoffman. He briefly described his bullet wound to his right arm that left him partially disabled. His residence was given as Kickapoo.

May 10, 1880. The Government Pension Office of the Department of the Interior requested the Adjutant General of the United States to report the full service record and injury report for Samuel Kirkman.

October 12, 1880. The Adjutant General’s Office of the War Department confirmed that Samuel Kirkman did fight in the Civil War and was “slightly wounded” at Arkansas Post, Arkansas. Apparently, a pension was granted in the amount of $4 per month.

September 14, 1882. Samuel Kirkman appears before County Judge John C. Yates to have his pension increased because of his present physical condition. Representing him once again was Peoria attorney Chauncey Nye. Two witnesses, Harry Lamboley and John Buckley, appeared on Samuel Kirkman’s behalf as well. The outcome of this proceeding is not known.

January 21, 1889. Samuel Kirkman completed a Claimant’s Affidavit and filed it with the Clerk of the County Court. The affidavit described in detail the gunshot wound he received at Arkansas Post and the fact that his injury prevented him from doing any heavy farm work. He also described another acute disease he suffered from — a bout of bilious fever and congestive chills that lasted from August, 1867 to January, 1868. Dr. Wilkinson of Kickapoo treated this illness.[140]

December 7, 1889. Samuel Kirkman completed another Claimant’s Affidavit and filed it with the Clerk of the County Court. This affidavit described the hearing loss he first noticed after leaving Vicksburg in 1863, the severe cold he caught in March of 1865, and the near total deafness in the left ear that resulted. This time, however, the additional evidence was filed by Washington, D.C. attorney Herbert E. Woodward, who evidently was now handling his case for an increase in his government pension.

October, 1890. A General Affidavit was filed by Jacob LaFollette of Hanna City, who served with Samuel Kirkman in the same Company of the 77th Illinois Regiment. LaFollette confirmed the deafness that Samuel Kirkman contracted during the war in an affidavit submitted to John

McDermott, Notary Public. On the 20th, Samuel Kirkman went to the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Thaddeus Simpson, to complete an Inability Affidavit. Witnessed by William W. King and Jacob LaFollette (both Company K comrades), his affidavit added details to his deafness claim. His residence was now given as Edwards.

February 18, 1892. Samuel and Louisa's oldest child — Alice Ann — married John Franklin Doubet. By so doing, the Kirkman ancestral line joined with the Slane-LaFollette line. My ancestral soldiers Daniel Slane, Jacob LaFollette, and John LaFollette now had a connection to Samuel Kirkman's lineage.

January 15, 1898. The U.S. Pension Agent in Chicago requested information about Samuel Kirkman's marital status, wife and children's names. This information was to be sent to the Bureau of Pensions so that Kirkman would receive his next quarterly pension payment.

September 9, 1901. Samuel Kirkman's wife, Louisa, died.

December 23, 1902. Three General Affidavits were filed with the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Thaddeus Simpson. The first was that of William W. King, the second was that of Nicholas Hoffman, and the third was that of Samuel Kirkman. Each described the injury that Samuel Kirkman sustained while chopping wood in March of 1874, as follows. On or about March 1st, 1874, he was the victim of an accident while working on the farm of Henry Story near Pottstown. While engaged in chopping wood, clearing away trees, and clearing away underbrush, he accidentally struck a glancing blow with an axe upon his big toe, splitting the toe. This injury caused Kirkman much difficulty in walking the rest of his life.[141] His residence was now given as Trivoli.

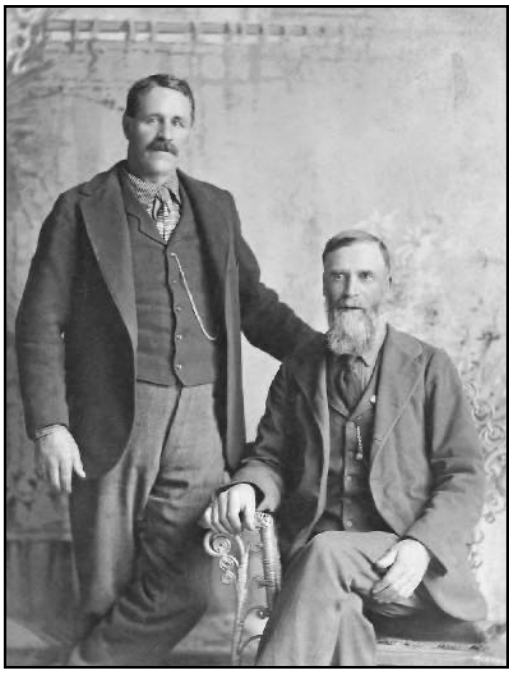


Figure 41: Samuel Kirkman is the man standing in this early twentieth century photograph. Kirkman died in 1931.

May 16, 1907. Samuel Kirkman appeared again before the Clerk of the Circuit Court, Thaddeus Simpson, to complete a Declaration for Pension form. This time he was not represented by an attorney. The proceedings were witnessed by Lewis Hines and C.A.W. Farli. The outcome of this visit is not known.

April 9, 1915. The Bureau of Pensions requested updated information about Samuel Kirkman's birthplace, wife and children. He informed them of his wife's death in 1901.

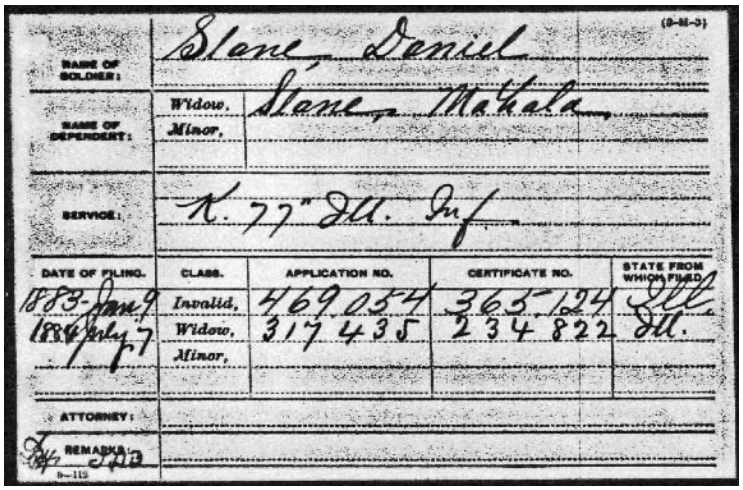
August 26, 1931. Samuel Kirkman enlisted the help of Trivoli attorney Ralph Du Mars to increase his monthly pension from the current value of $72 per month. This attempt was evidently successful, because at the time of his death, records showed that he received a monthly pension of $75.

September 13, 1931. Samuel Kirkman died at Trivoli, Illinois at the age of 86. He was buried in Cottonwood Cemetery, which is located in Rosefield Township of Peoria County, Illinois, just a few miles north and east of Trivoli. His parents, Robert Kirkman (d. August 27, 1891) and Alice Bromley Kirkman (d. February 6, 1890) had previously been buried there.[142]

With the passing of Samuel Kirkman, my family's last Civil War veteran was gone. During the next 28 years, all remaining Civil War veterans — North and South — would perish, severing the direct link we had to this watershed event in American history.

THE SLANES AND LAFOLLETTES AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Daniel Fletcher Slane was the first of my ancestral soldiers to return to civilian life, following his brief stay in the 77th Illinois. After returning home in the late-summer of 1862, Daniel and his wife Mahala would live the rest of their lives in Rosefield Township of Peoria County, Illinois. Despite his very short duration in the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Daniel Slane still qualified for a government pension that he began receiving in 1883. After that, his wife received a widow's pension for the eight years that she outlived him.[143] (See Figure 42).


NAME OF SOLDIER: Slane, Daniel
NAME OF DEPENDENT: Widow, Slane, Mahala
Minor,
SERVICE: K. 77th Ill. Inf.

DATE OF FILING.	CLASS.	APPLICATION NO.	CERTIFICATE NO.	STATE FROM WHICH FILED
1883-Jan 9	Invalid,	469.054	365.124	Ill.
1884 July 7	Widow,	317435	234822	Ill.
	Minor,			

ATTORNEY:
REMARKS:

Figure 42: Daniel Slane's pension record.

Daniel's two nephews — Jacob and John LaFollette — came home from the war in July of 1865. Jacob, much leaner and weaker following his 13-month captivity in Texas, was mustered out of the Union Army on June 17th and arrived back in Peoria on Saturday, July 8th.[144] John was mustered out of the army on July 10th and returned to Peoria three weeks after Jacob, on Saturday, July 29th.[145]

Eight months later, the two LaFollette brothers would marry within two weeks of each other. On March 21, 1866, in Peoria County, Illinois, Jacob LaFollette married Margaret Amanda Slane (b. 1847), who was the niece of Daniel Fletcher Slane.[146] Jacob now had two ancestral connections with Daniel Slane! See Appendix C.

Thirteen days later, John married Prudence Metcalf (b. 1838) on April 3, 1866 in LaRue County, in central Kentucky. Prudence had been born in neighboring Nelson County. John and Prudence initially resided in Rosefield Township of Peoria County, Illinois before re-locating to Kentucky in the mid-1870s.[147] Both brothers would father a brood of children in the years ahead.

More than twenty-six years after the war ended — on February 18, 1892 — Samuel Kirkman's daughter (Alice Ann Kirkman) married John Franklin Doubet. In 1895, they would have their second child, Beulah, who would become my paternal grandmother. Therefore, Samuel Kirkman is my great-great grandfather.

Because of that same 1892 marriage, I am related to three other soldiers who were also with Samuel Kirkman in Company K of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry — Daniel Slane and his nephews through his marriage to Mahala LaFollette, brothers Jacob and John LaFollette. Daniel Slane was John Doubet's maternal grandfather. As a result, Daniel Slane is my 3rd great grandfather and the LaFollette brothers are my first cousins, 4 times removed.[148] See Appendix C.

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A FINAL TRIBUTE TO THE CIVIL WAR SOLDIER

written by Lieutenant William H. Bentley
Company I, 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry

There is an unwritten record in the life of every soldier — a record all the more interesting because unwritten — a record of heroic deeds, of patient suffering, of toil and privation, of watchfulness and weariness, of exposure and danger, which if fully known and realized, would command the enthusiastic plaudits of the world ... The private soldier who plods wearily along the dusty road and cheerfully bears the burdens of the most arduous and exacting campaigns, is the true personification of heroism. Without a murmur and without complaint; leading a life of constant insecurity; with no personal consideration; actuated only by a patriotic love of country, he flings his apparently worthless life away with those hallowed words, GOD and MOTHER, lingering on his dying lips ...

. . . [Years later], let us not forget the past. Let us cling to the sacred memories of the war and preserve inviolate the friendships 'welded in the fire of battle.' And let us cherish — ever fondly cherish — the memory of our patriotic dead. On the annual return of each memorial day, let us gather our garlands of flowers and strew them, an offering of sweet incense, on their graves. And there kneeling at those hallowed shrines, renew our allegiance to the principles for which they died. And above all, let us be true to our Country and our Flag — 'with malice toward none, with charity for all.' [149]

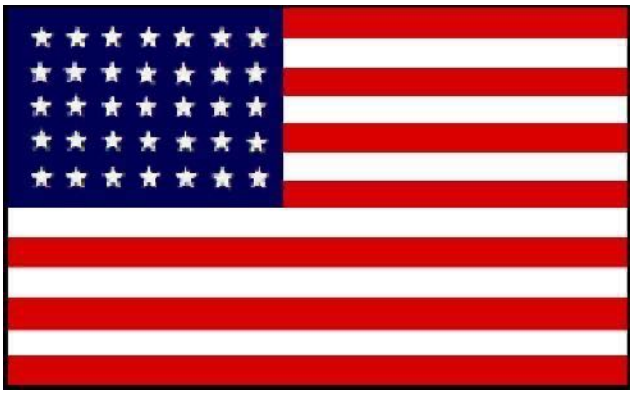
Appendix A
Records and Artifacts

JOB BENJAMIN'S CIVIL WAR RECORD

During the Civil War, Job Benjamin and the 76th Ohio V.I. passed through the rebellious states of Kentucky, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina and participated in the following battles and skirmishes:

Fort Donelson, Tennessee	February 13-16, 1862
Shiloh, Tennessee	April 6-7, 1862
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee	November 24 , 1863
Chattanooga, Tennessee	November 25, 1863
Taylor's Ridge, Georgia	November 27, 1863
Resaca, Georgia	May 14, 1864
Dallas, Georgia	May 26-28, 1864
Atlanta, Georgia	July 22, 1864
Ezra Church, Georgia	July 28, 1864
Jonesboro, Georgia	August 31, 1864
Ship's Gap, Georgia	October 16, 1864
March through Georgia	November 16 to December 18, 1864
Carolinas Campaign	February 1 to April 26, 1865

The regimental flag of the 76th Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

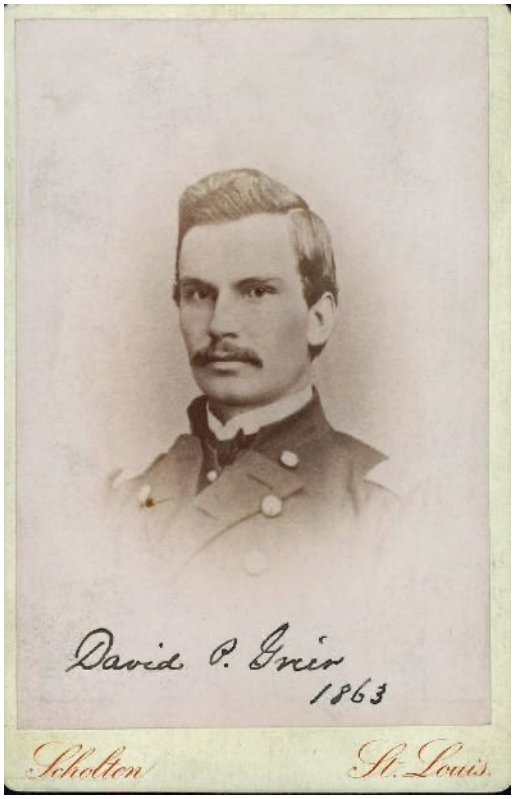


The 35-star United States flag carried by Union soldiers.

SAMUEL KIRKMAN'S CIVIL WAR RECORD

During the Civil War, Samuel Kirkman and the 77th Illinois V.I. passed through the rebellious states of Kentucky, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama and participated in the following battles and skirmishes:

Chickasaw Bluffs, Mississippi	Dec. 27, 1862 to Jan. 1, 1863
Arkansas Post, Arkansas	Jan. 11, 1863
Port Gibson, Mississippi	May 1, 1863
Champion Hill, Mississippi	May 16, 1863
Big Black River, Mississippi	May 17, 1863
Vicksburg, Mississippi	May 19 and 22, 1863
Siege of Vicksburg, Mississippi	May 19 to July 4, 1863
Siege of Jackson, Mississippi	July 13 to 17, 1863
Sabine Cross Roads (Mansfield), Louisiana	April 8, 1864
Cane River, Louisiana	April 23, 1864
Fort Gaines, Alabama	August 4 to 8, 1864
Fort Morgan, Alabama	August 8 to 23, 1864
Spanish Fort, Alabama	March 27 to April 9, 1865
Fort Blakely, Alabama	April 9, 1865
Whistler Station, Alabama	April 13, 1865



David Perkins Grier (1836-1891)
Colonel, 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry.

Col. Grier was promoted to Brevet Brigadier General in March of 1865.

David Perkins Grier in 1886
(age ~ 50 years)

Both images are from the collection of the Missouri History Museum.

On October 31, 1863, while at the Regimental Headquarters at Franklin, Louisiana, the 77th Illinois received two new flags from Peoria to replace those lost in the assault on Vicksburg. One was from the "Woman's National League" and the other (pictured here) was from the "Misses Aid Society" of Peoria.

This digitally restored image was rendered from an original photograph of the flag taken by the Missouri History Museum.

The author's drawing of the regimental flag of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, based upon an archival photograph of such a flag held in the Illinois State Museum.

WILSON BENJAMIN'S CIVIL WAR RECORD

During the Civil War, Wilson Benjamin and the 8th Illinois V.I. fought in the state of Alabama and participated in the following battles:

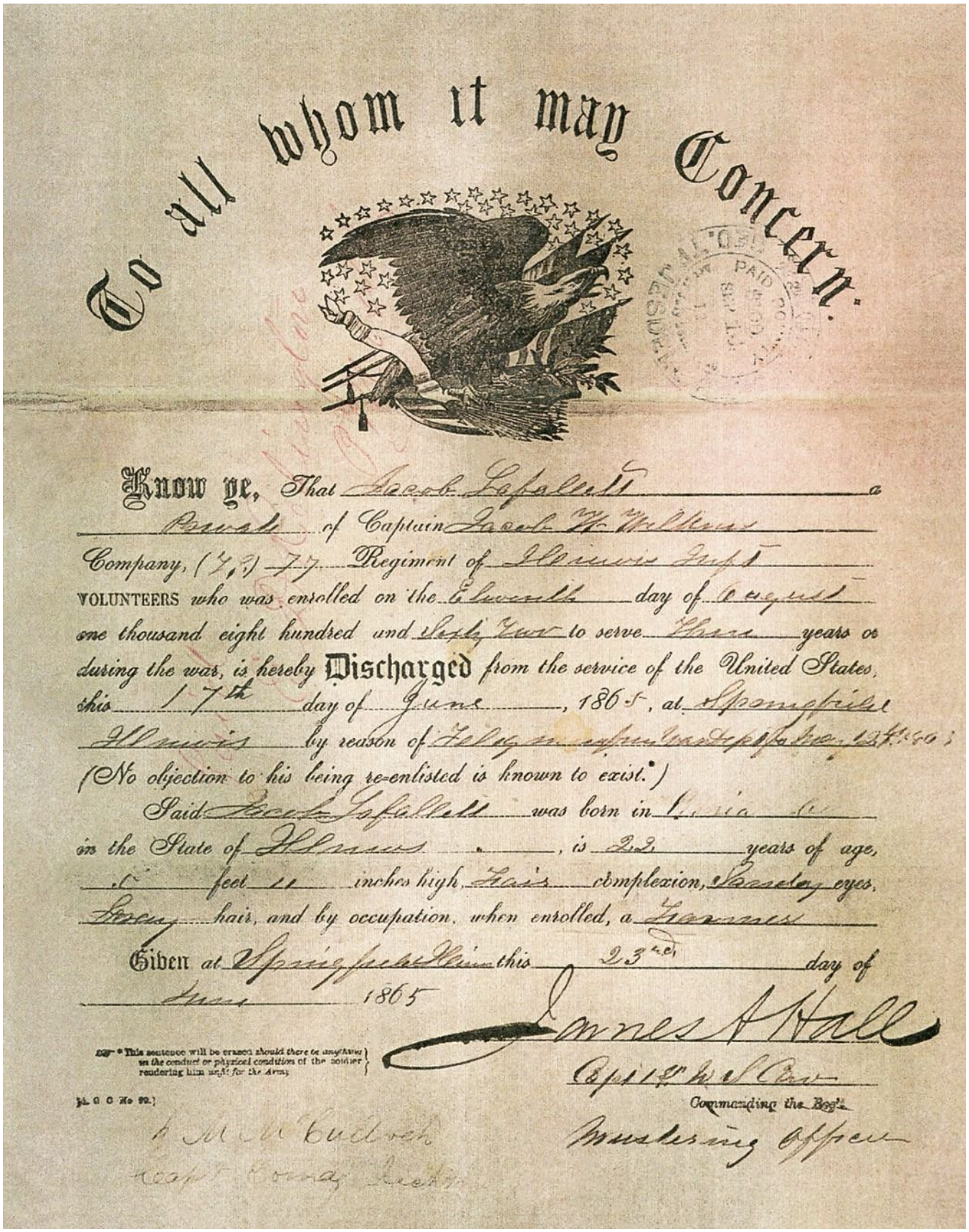
Spanish Fort, Alabama	March 27 to April 9, 1865
Fort Blakely, Alabama	April 9, 1865

SAMUEL KIRKMAN'S G.A.R. LADDER BADGE

The **Grand Army of the Republic** (GAR) was a fraternal organization composed of veterans who served in the American Civil War. It was founded in 1866 in Decatur, Illinois, and grew to include hundreds of "posts" (local community units) across the nation. It was dissolved in 1956 at the death of its last member. Today, another organization — **Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War** (SUVCW) — serves as the legal successor to the GAR.

This "ladder badge" belonged to Samuel Kirkman of Company K of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Ladder badges like this were popular with GAR members, who wore them to GAR encampments and other public functions. Ladder badges consisted of three or four metal bars joined vertically like the rungs of a ladder. Samuel Kirkman's badge lists his Company, his Regiment, his Home State, and his branch of service (i.e. Volunteer Infantry).

JACOB LAFOLLETTE'S DISCHARGE



To all whom it may Concern.

Know ye, That Jacob Lafollett a
Private of Captain Jacob W. Wellmer
Company, (F.) 77 Regiment of Illinois Infty
VOLUNTEERS who was enrolled on the Eleventh day of August
one thousand eight hundred and Sixty Four to serve Three years or
during the war, is hereby Discharged from the service of the United States,
this 17th day of June, 1865, at Springfield
Illinois by reason of Telegram from Sept of Ills. dated June 12th 1865;
(No objection to his being re-enlisted is known to exist.)

Said Jacob Lafollett was born in Canada
in the State of Illinois, is 22 years of age,
5 feet 11 inches high, Fair complexion, Grey eyes,
Brown hair, and by occupation, when enrolled, a Farmer

Given at Springfield Illin this 23rd day of
June 1865

James A Hall
Capt 18th U.S. Cav
Commanding the Bo'd
Mustering Officer

* This sentence will be erased should there be anything in the conduct or physical condition of the soldier rendering him unfit for the Army.

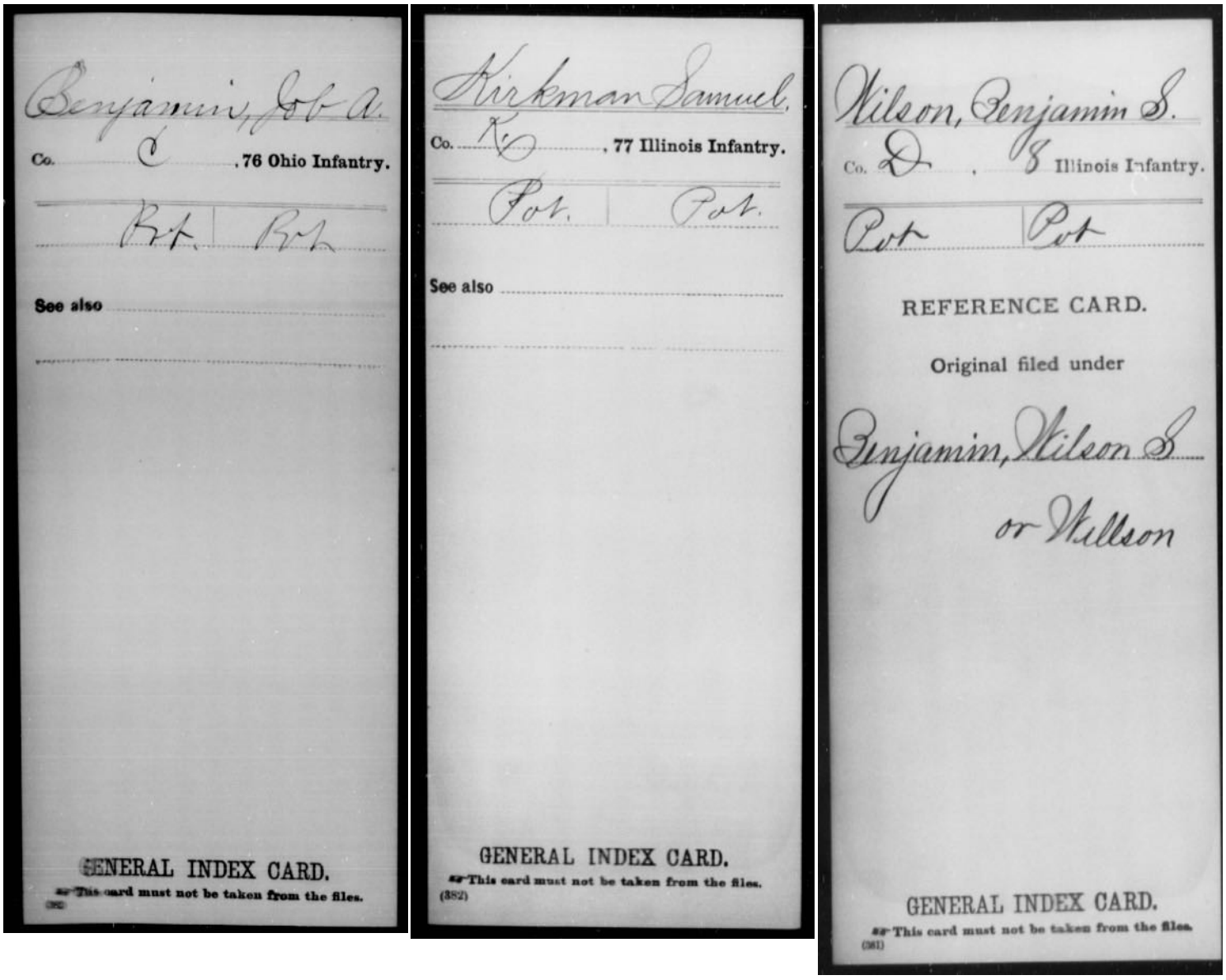
A. G. O. No. 92.

A. M. McCulloch
Capt Comdg Recruit

Posted on *Ancestry.com* by user Glen Smith.

MILITARY SERVICE AND PENSION RECORDS

The National Archives and Records Administration stores all military service records and military pension records. Older military personnel records (generally prior to 1917) are on file in their Textual Archives Services Division in Washington, D.C. More information can be found at: **www.archives.gov/veterans/military-service-records/pre-ww-1-records**.



These are the Compiled Military Service Records (CMSR) for Job Benjamin, Samuel Kirkman, and Wilson Benjamin. The CMSR is an envelope (a jacket) containing one or more cards that contain basic information about the soldier's military career. These cards typically indicate that the soldier was present or absent during a certain period of time. Other cards may indicate the date of enlistment and discharge, as well as other information such as wounds received during battle or hospitalization for injury or illness. Each volunteer soldier has one CMSR for each regiment in which he served.

Appendix B
Brothers in Arms

SAMUEL KIRKMAN'S CARTE DE VISITE PHOTOGRAPHS

While assigned to guard rebel prisoners in New Orleans between October 8, 1864 and February 20, 1865, Samuel Kirkman and several of his fellow soldiers from the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry had 'carte de visite' photographs taken at Leeson's Photographic Gallery on Poydras Street.

These 2½ x 4 inch cards (today often abbreviated as CdVs) were often exchanged between soldiers or sent home to loved ones. Samuel Kirkman kept 18 carte de visite photographs of his fellow soldiers for the remainder of his life.

For additional carte de visite photographs of soldiers from the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, visit the webpage of the Knox College Library Special Collections at

knoxlibrary.knox.edu/archives/local/local-77th-photos.htm

A listing of all soldiers who fought with the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry can be found at

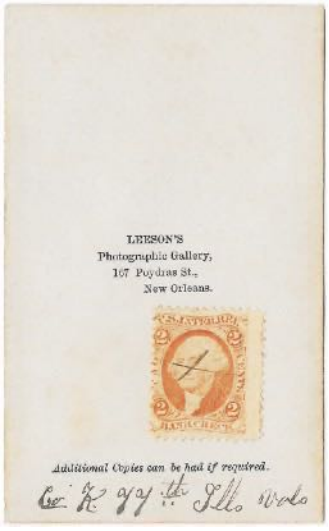
civilwar.illinoisgenweb.org/reg_html/077_reg.html

Another search tool for soldiers specifically from Illinois regiments can be found at

www.ilsos.gov/isaveterans/civilmustersrch.jsp

The National Park Service's Soldiers and Sailors Database lists all men who served in the Union and Confederate armies during the Civil War. It is found at

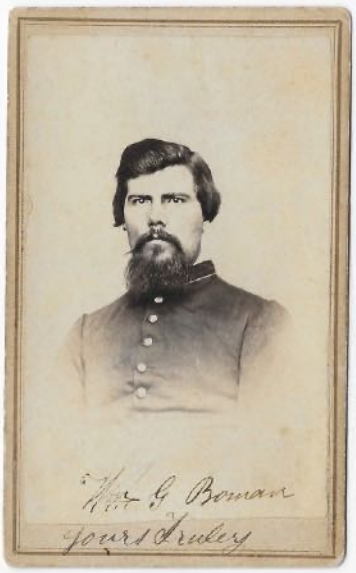
www.nps.gov/civilwar/soldiers-and-sailors-database.htm



The reverse side of most carte de visite cards has affixed a U.S. revenue stamp. Prompted by the urgent need to raise revenue to pay for the great costs of war, the Internal Revenue department passed a "photograph tax" in 1864 requiring photographers to pay a tax on the sale of their photographs. Since there existed no "photography tax" stamps per se, other stamps were substituted, typically, the proprietary or playing card revenue stamps was used, usually affixed to the back of the photograph. The cancellation of these stamps was usually done by hand with pen and ink.

The following two page have scans of the 18 CdVs that once belonged to Samuel Kirkman and were passed down through his granddaughter Margaret Kirkman (Anderson) to me. It is logical to assume that the soldiers whose cards comprise his collection were his closest friends in the regiment.

J. William Avery (Cazenovia)
Private, Company C



William G. Boman (Magnolia)
Private, Company B

John Camp (Rosefield)
Private, Company K

Imle E. Coulson (Rosefield)
Corporal, Company K

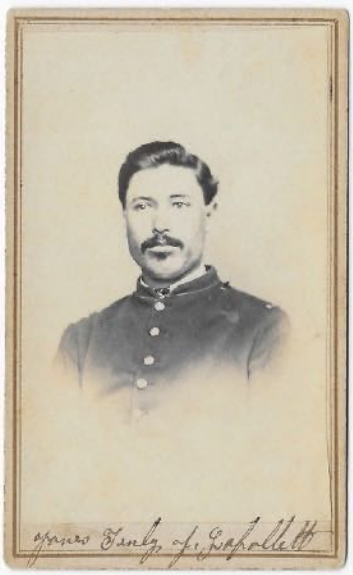
George W. Edwards (Rosefield)
Sergeant, Company K

Frederick Gilson (Rosefield)
Private, Company K

Oswald B. Green (Rosefield)
Corporal, Company K

Thomas J. Holt (Rosefield)
Private, Company K

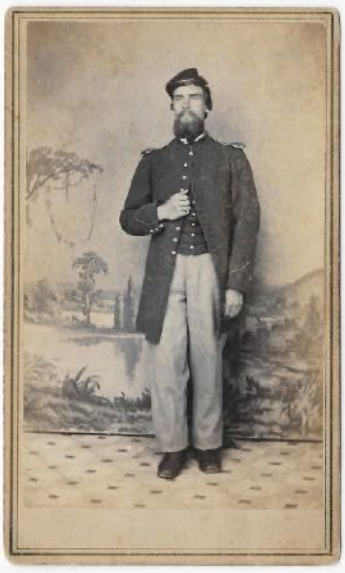
Samuel Kirkman (Kickapoo)
Private, Company K



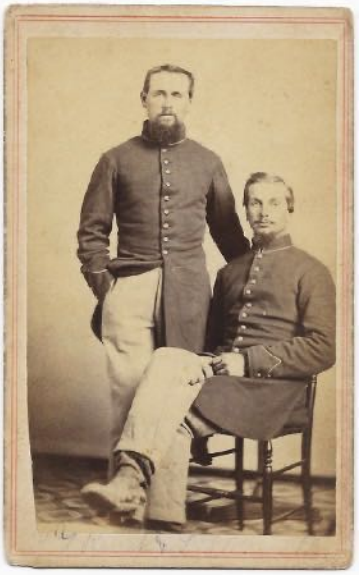
John LaFollette (Rosefield)
Private, Company K

Henry S. Morris (Rosefield)
Private, Company K

Richard Morris (Rosefield)
Private, Company K



John Pritchard (Kickapoo)
Private, Company K



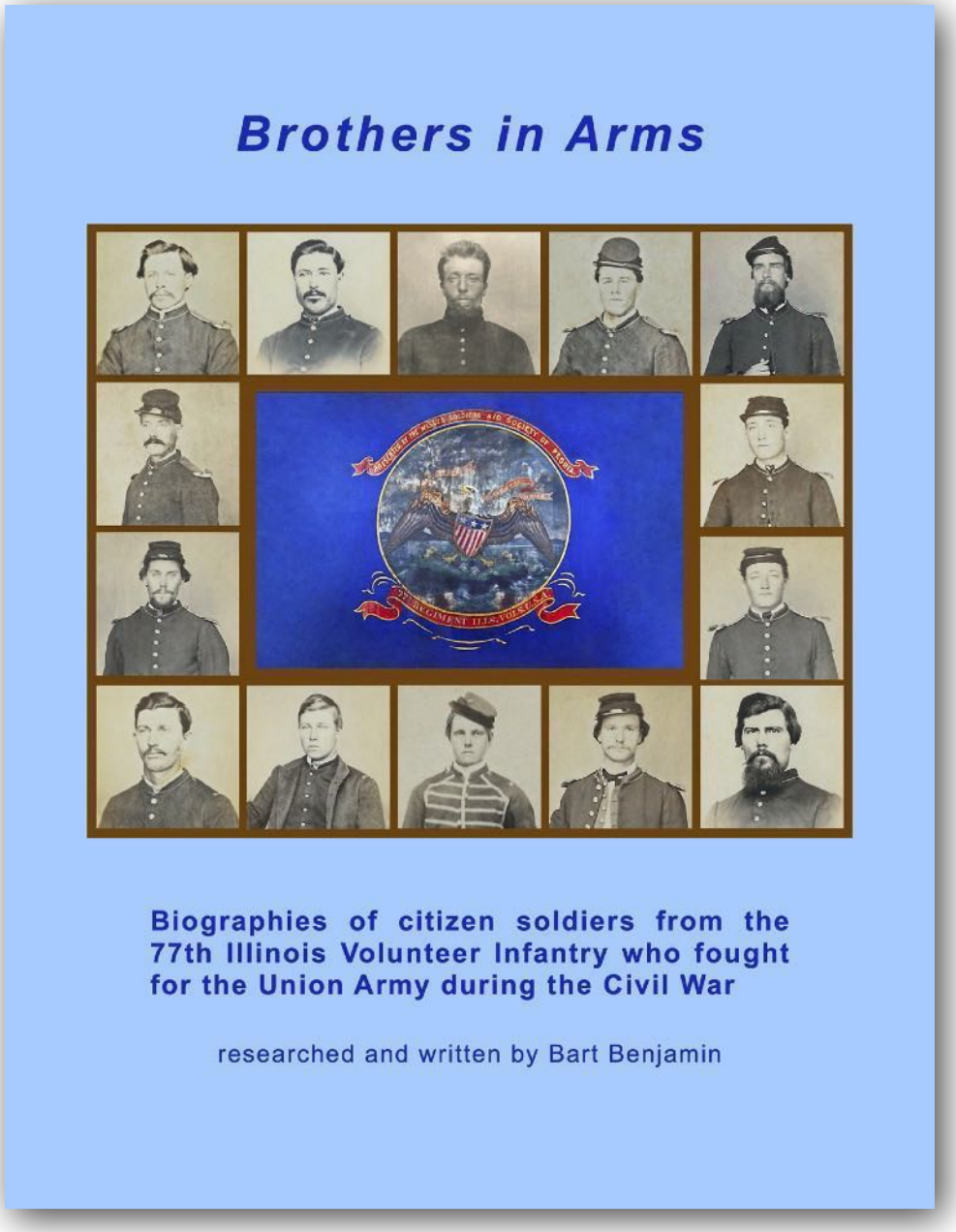
Louis (Medina) and **Lyman** (Rosefield) **Rench**
Wagoner, Company E and Private, Company K

Jacob H. Snyder (Elmwood)
Musician, Company I

Edwin R. Somers (Peoria)
Private, Company K

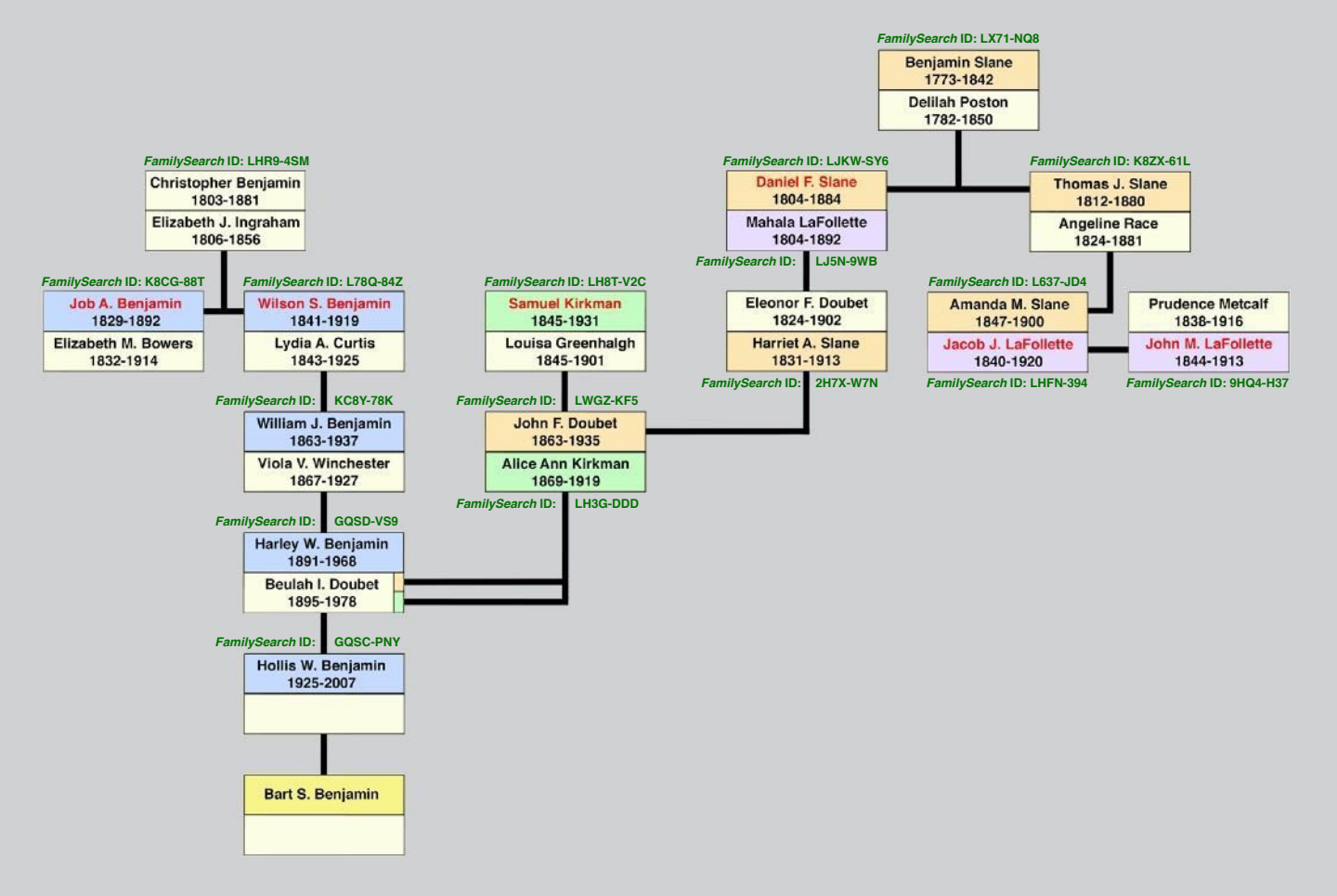
Jacob W. Wilkin (Marshall)
Captain, Company C

Unknown soldier


Brothers in Arms
Biographies of citizen soldiers from the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War
researched and written by Bart Benjamin

To learn more about Samuel Kirkman's carte de visite photographs and his fellow citizen soldiers, please read *Brothers in Arms*, also written by this author.

Appendix C
My Civil War Genealogy

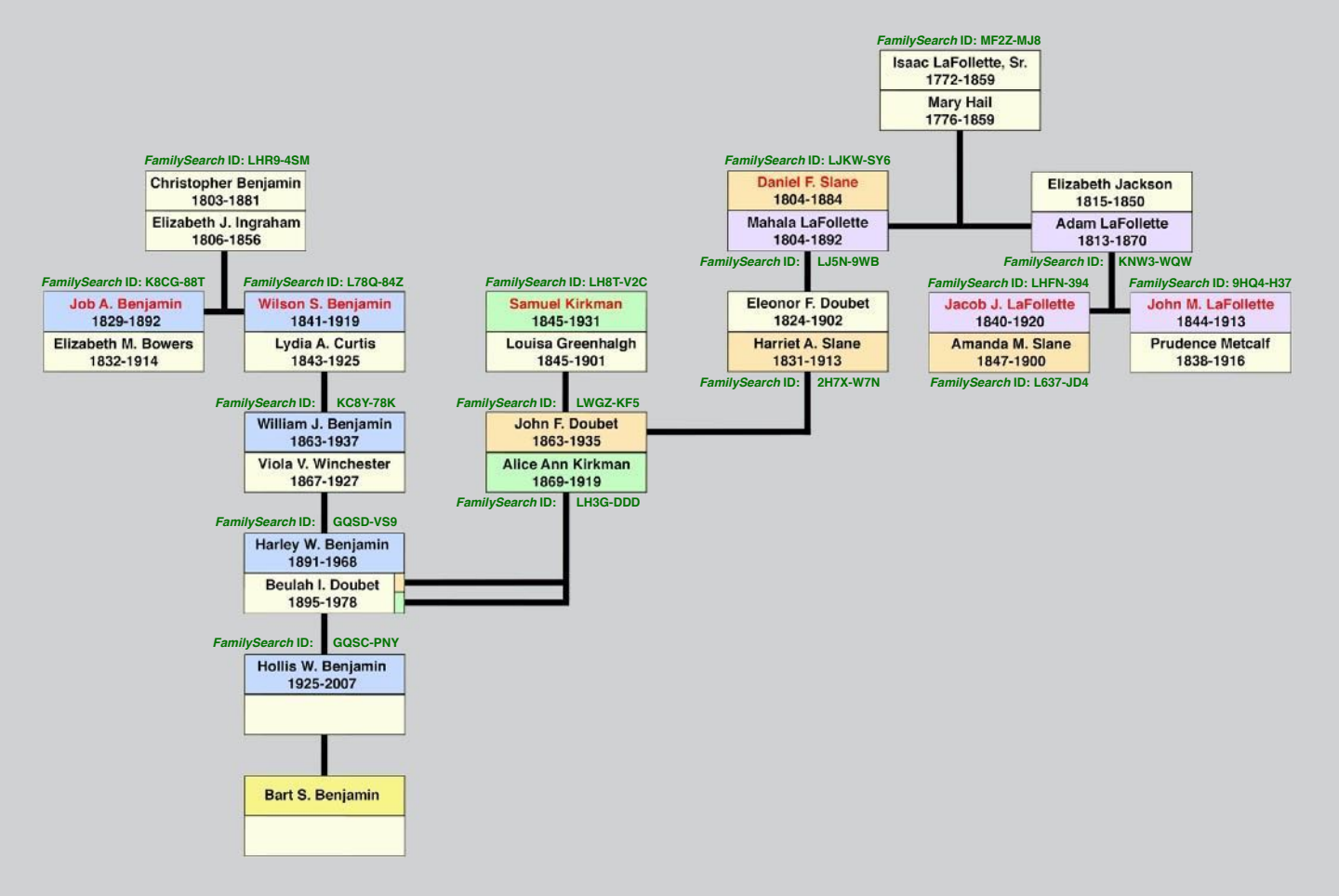


Version 1 of the pedigree chart shows the author's connection to the LaFollette brothers through the Slane family.

The author is related to six men who fought for the Union Army during the Civil War. On the pedigree charts on this page and the following page, their names are highlighted by red type.

Wilson S. Benjamin	great-great grandfather	
Job A. Benjamin	3rd great uncle	
Samuel Kirkman	great-great grandfather	
Daniel F. Slane	3rd great grandfather	
Jacob J. LaFollette	first cousin, 4x removed	[We share a 4th great-grandfather].
John M. LaFollette	first cousin, 4x removed	[We share a 4th great-grandfather].

The green numbers are the **Ancestor ID Numbers** from *FamilySearch*, a website and online database maintained by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.



Version 2 of the pedigree chart shows the author's connection to the LaFollette brothers through the LaFollette family.

On the pedigree charts, box colors indicate common family lines. Blue is the Benjamin family. Orange is the Doubet-Slane family. Light purple is the LaFollette family. There are two versions of my pedigree chart because the LaFollette brothers (Jacob and John) are related to the author through both the Slane family and the LaFollette family. This twist stems from the fact that before Jacob LaFollette ever married Amanda Slane, Jacob was already the nephew of Mahala LaFollette and Amanda was already the niece of Daniel Slane.

The left section of the chart shows the author's connection to **Wilson Benjamin** and his older brother **Job Benjamin**.

The middle section of the chart shows the author's connection to **Samuel Kirkman**.

The right section of the chart shows the author's connection to **Daniel Slane** and brothers **Jacob LaFollette** and **John LaFollette**.

The green numbers are the **Ancestor ID Numbers** from *FamilySearch*, a website and online database maintained by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

THE WISCONSIN LAFOLLETTES

The LaFollette family name would become prominent in United States politics, particularly in the state of Wisconsin.

Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr. (1855-1925) would serve as U.S. Representative from Wisconsin (1885-1891); Governor of Wisconsin (1901-1906); U.S. Senator from Wisconsin (1906-1925); candidate for the Republican nomination for U.S. President in both 1908 and 1916; and candidate for United States President (from the Progressive Party) in 1924. In the 1924 Presidential election, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. received 16.6% of the popular vote, a strong showing for a third party candidate, but only won the 13 electoral votes of his home state.

Robert LaFollette, Sr.
(1855-1925)

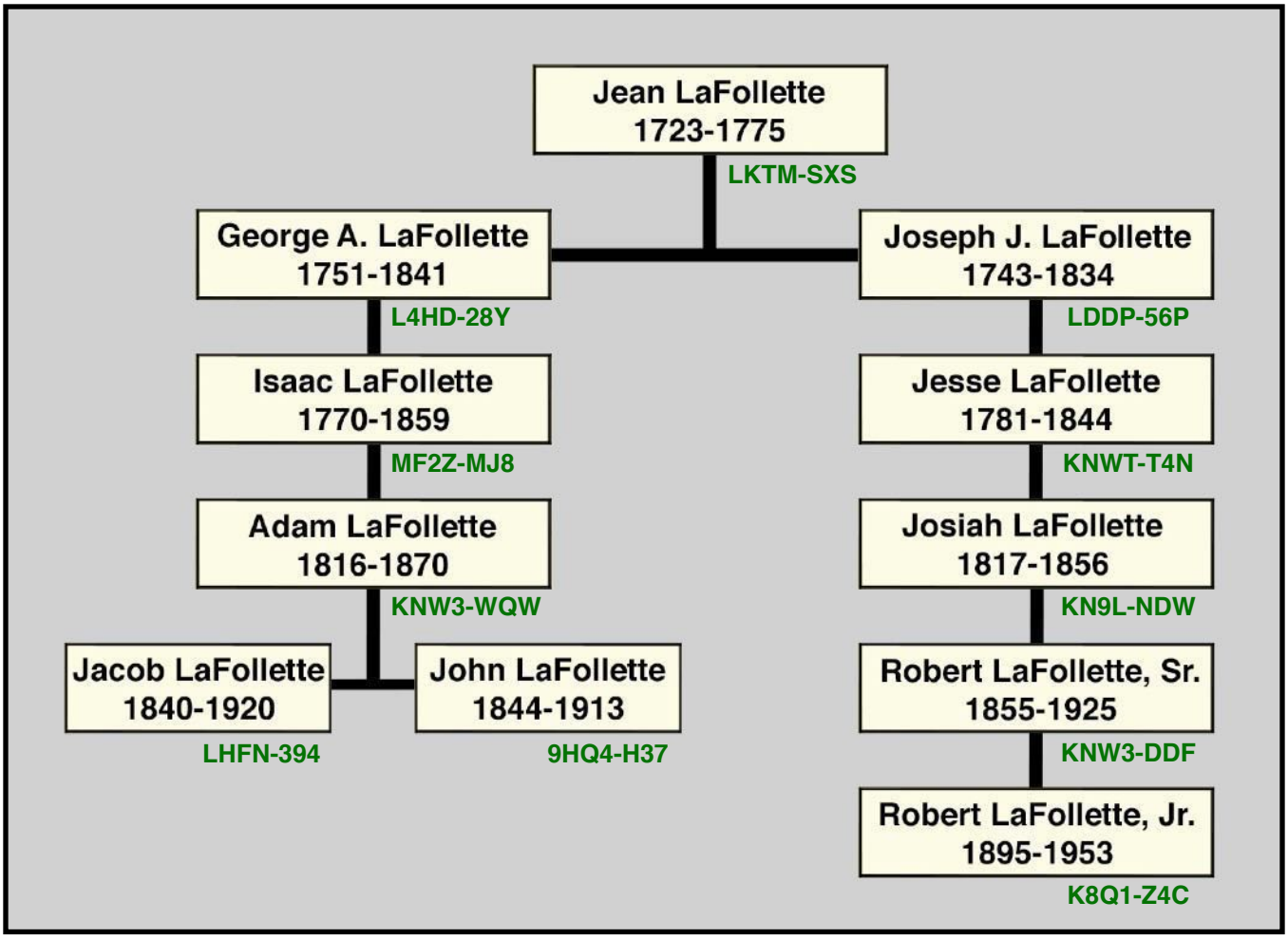
***FamilySearch* ID: KNW3-DDF**

His son, Robert Marion LaFollette, Jr. (1895-1953) was a U.S. Senator from Wisconsin from 1925 to 1947. The younger LaFollette kept the Progressive Party alive in the U.S. Senate until his defeat by Joseph McCarthy in 1946. Many other LaFollette family members have also pursued political office.

The Wisconsin LaFollettes are related to the Illinois LaFollettes (Jacob and John), who fought for the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry. Their common ancestor was Jean LaFollette. The LaFollette family originated in the French province of Anjou. Jean, George, and Joseph were each born in France but died in the United States. The two relevant LaFollette family tree branches are shown on the following page.

Robert LaFollette, Jr.
(1895-1953)

***FamilySearch* ID: K8Q1-Z4C**



Jean LaFollette was a great-great grandfather to both Jacob and John LaFollette and Robert LaFollette, Sr. As a result, Robert LaFollette, Sr. and the LaFollette brothers (Jacob and John) were third cousins.

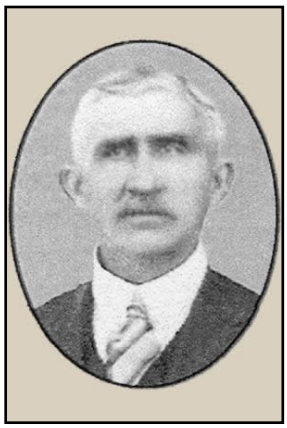
As mentioned previously, the LaFollette brothers are the author's first cousins, 4 times removed. Adding in the second branch of the LaFollette family tree, Robert LaFollette, Sr. was the author's third cousin, 4 times removed.

The green numbers are the **Ancestor ID Numbers** from *FamilySearch*, a website and online database maintained by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

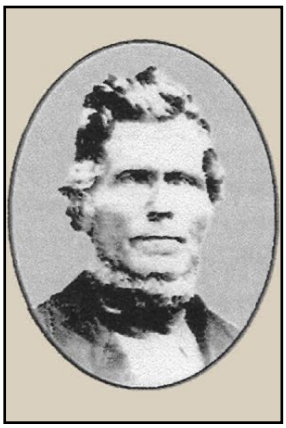
Sources: *Ancestry.com* accounts **GRossing**, **ClydeHendricks**, **Matt Goldsberry**

THE AUTHOR'S KNOWN CIVIL WAR ANCESTORS

Samuel Kirkman
Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois
my 2nd great-grandfather



Wilson S. Benjamin
Private, Co. D, 8th Illinois
my 2nd great-grandfather

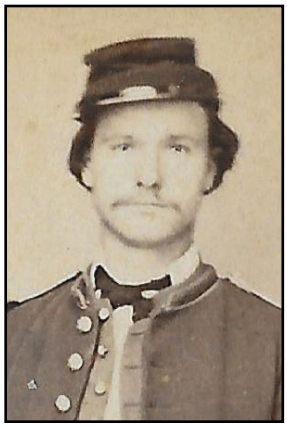


Daniel F. Slane
Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois
my 3rd great-grandfather

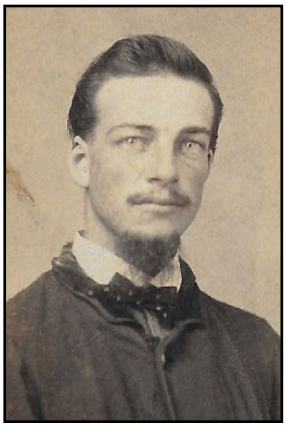
John M. LaFollette
Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois
my 1st cousin, 4x removed

Jacob J. LaFollette
Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois
my 1st cousin, 4x removed

Frederick F. Gilson
Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois
husband of my 9th cousin,
2x removed



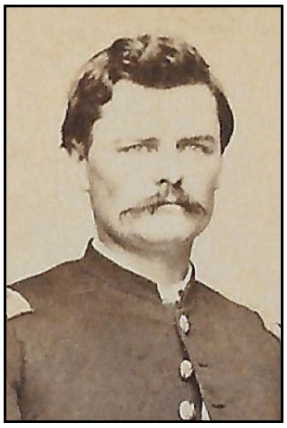
Imle E. Coulson
Corporal, Co. K, 77th Illinois
husband of my 6th cousin,
4x removed



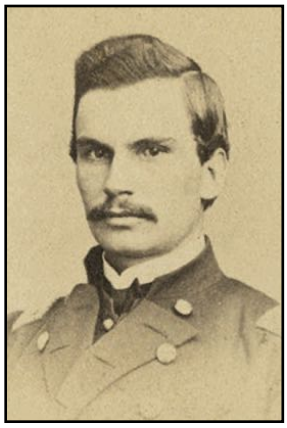
James William Avery
Private (to Corporal),
Co. C, 77th Illinois
my 8th cousin, 2x removed

Jacob H. Snyder
Musician, Co. I, 77th Illinois
husband of my 9th cousin,
1x removed

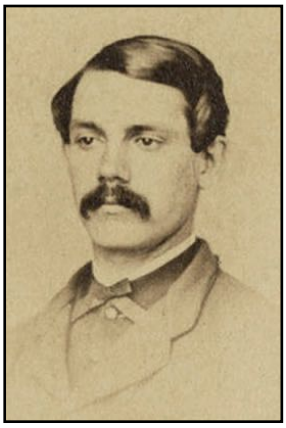
Lemon H. Wiley
Principal Musician, 77th Illinois
husband of my 9th cousin,
4x removed



Jacob W. Wilkin
Captain, Co. C, 77th Illinois
husband of my 11th cousin,
3x removed



David P. Grier
Colonel, 77th Illinois
my 8th cousin, 3x removed



Orange Parret
2nd Lieutenant, Co. B, 77th IL
my 10th cousin, 1x removed

No photographs: **Job A. Benjamin**, Private, Co. C, 76th Ohio, my 2nd great-granduncle
William H. Bentley, Private (to Corporal), Co. I, 77th Illinois, husband of my 10th cousin, 3x removed
William W. King, Private, Co. K, 77th Illinois, husband of my 2nd great-grandaunt

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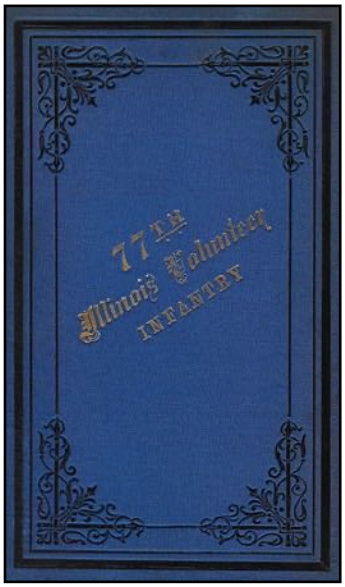
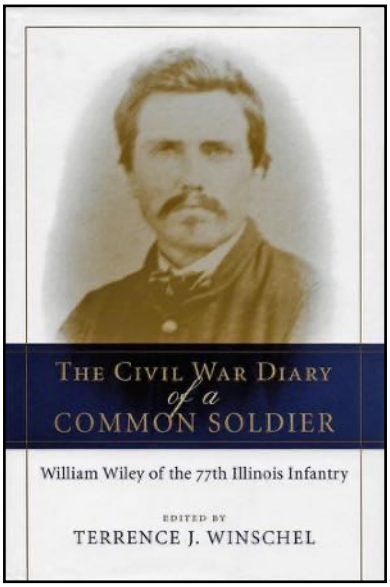
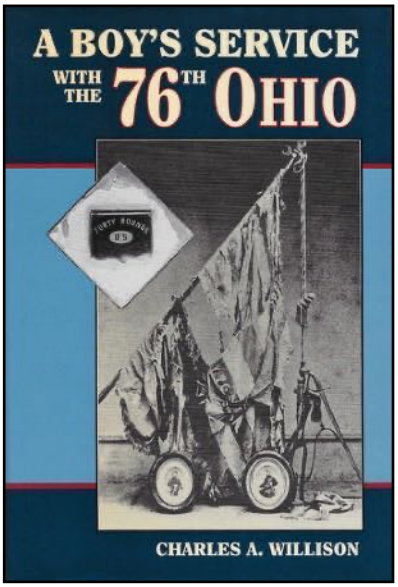


Bentley, William H.



Winschel and Wiley



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In-person interview with Margaret Anderson (granddaughter of Samuel Kirkman), conducted on May 24, 1992.

Telephone follow-up conversations with Margaret Anderson, conducted during the spring and summer of 1992.

In-person interview with Roland Benjamin (great-grandson of Wilson Benjamin), conducted on January 13, 2020.

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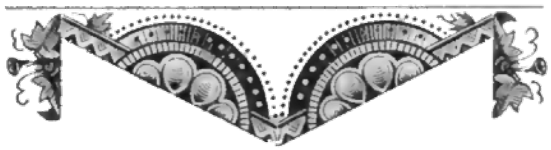

Footnotes

1861 Footnotes

1. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin.
2. Roland J. Benjamin, A Genealogy of the Benjamin Family of Peoria County, Illinois (Privately published by author), pp. 7-8. Additional genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois provides birth and death dates of Job's family. Job Benjamin's age is also confirmed by the Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio. p. 268. His birthplace is incorrectly given as McKean Township by the Regimental Company Descriptive Book, from the National Archives.
3. From Company C Descriptive Book, from the National Archives.
4. From Declaration of Widow's Pension, dated August 29, 1902 and another Widow's Pension dated October 13, 1902, both from the National Archives. This is further confirmed by genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin.
5. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin. Additional genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois shows that James Wilson Benjamin was born in Ohio on November 5, 1851.
6. Benjamin, p. 10.
7. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin. Additional genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois shows that by the time of the 1860 Census (June 29, 1860, Job was back in McKean Township, Licking County, Ohio. Her birth records for their children confirm their family's location. Horn's work also lists the birthplace of George Benjamin (b. ~1861) as Illinois, but this would mean quite a bit of shuttling between Ohio and Illinois. Starting in Ohio, Job's family moved to Illinois in 1852, back to Ohio in 1856 or 1857, then perhaps back to Illinois for George's birth in 1861, then back to Ohio before Effie's birth in the spring of 1866.
8. From Declaration for Pension dated February 4, 1911, from the National Archives.
9. From an in-person interview with Roland Benjamin (great-grandson of Wilson Benjamin), conducted on January 13, 2020. Biographical information about the Ohio governor was taken from his Wikipedia entry. Wilson Shannon would later serve a second, non-consecutive term as Ohio's governor from 1842-1844.
10. From Volunteer service listing, from the National Archives.
11. Benjamin, p. 10.
12. Benjamin, p. 10.
13. Samuel Kirkman's birthplace is derived from several sources. Most recently (2019), genealogical research conducted on *Ancestry.com* by marysgirl2002 and tempother both cite Harwood in Bolton borough, Greater Manchester, England as his birthplace. His birthplace within Lancashire is also given on the Department of the Interior Bureau of Pensions form signed by Kirkman on April 6, 1915. However, on a "Declaration for Pension" form signed by Kirkman on May 16, 1907, his birthplace is incorrectly listed as Lanchester, which is a small town located in Durham County in northeastern England. This was perhaps a misspelling of Lancashire.
14. Although genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin only list Samuel Kirkman's siblings as: two brothers, Robert and Alexander, and one sister named Phoebe, *Find a grave.com* identifies the eight so listed at www.findagrave.com/memorial/11686952/samuel-kirkman and provides many birth and death dates. Additional genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois, suggests an additional older brother to Samuel named Felix (b. 1840) who apparently emigrated to America but died before the next census.
15. According to U.S. Customs records, Robert Kirkman and his family emigrated to the United States aboard the full rigged vessel *West Point* [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Point_(1847)] on December 7, 1857, leaving Liverpool for New York. Source: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897. Microfilm Publication M237. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C.
16. In the 1860 U.S. census, Samuel Kirkman, aged 15, is listed as a farm hand in the family of 36 year-old Richard Howard of Kickapoo, Illinois. Source: 1860 U.S. census; Census Place:

Kickapoo, Peoria, Illinois; National Archives and Records Administration; Washington, D.C.

17. There is some slight disagreement on Samuel Kirkman's height. On the Declaration for Pension form signed by Kirkman on May 16, 1907, Kirkman listed himself as 5' 10½" tall. However, his height is given as 5' 11" in Declaration for an Original Valid Pension, dated May 29, 1879. (both from the National Archives). The records of the Adjutant General's Office (in the Illinois state archives) list his height as 5' 8".
18. Benjamin, p. 11.
19. Geoffrey C. Ward, The Civil War (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1990), p. 48; John S. Bowman, The Civil War Day by Day (Greenwich, CT: Dorset Press, 1989), p. 27.
20. James I. Robertson, Jr., Soldiers Blue and Gray (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), p. 10.
21. Ibid.
22. Victor Hicken, Illinois in the Civil War (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1966), p. 2.
23. Ibid.
24. Bell Irvin Wiley, The Life of Billy Yank (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 37-38 and 371.
25. Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion (1861-1866) (Akron: Werner Printing and Mfg. Co., 1888), p. 267.
26. William H. Bentley, History of the 77th Illinois Volunteer Infantry (Peoria: Edward Hine Printers, 1883), p. 20.
27. Ward, p. 122.
28. From the online "American Civil War Research Database" at www.civilwardata.com/ca_demo2.html.
29. Wiley, p. 59; Historical reenactor's catalog of Crescent City Sutler, Evansville, Indiana.
30. Wiley, p. 60.
31. John MacDonald, Great Battles of the Civil War (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988), p. 14; Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray. p. 42.
32. MacDonald, p. 14.
33. James I. Robertson, Jr., Tenting Tonight: The Soldier's Life (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, Inc., 1984), p. 72.
34. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray. p. 15-16.
35. Mark M. Boatner III, The Civil War Dictionary (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), p. 266.
36. From Detachment Muster-Out Roll, from the National Archives; Charles A. Willison, A Boy's Service with the 76th Ohio (Huntington, WV; Blue Acorn Press, 1995), p. 14.
37. Willison, p. 14-15.
38. Willison, p. 14. Job Benjamin's Company Muster Roll (from the National Archives) referred to them as "French rifle muskets" instead.
39. Willison, p. 14.
40. Terrence J. Winschel, The Civil War Diary of a Common Soldier: William Wiley of the 77th Illinois Infantry (Baton Rouge: Lousiana State University Press, 2001), p. 6.
41. MacDonald, p. 54.
42. Ibid., p. 158.
43. Ibid., p. 14.
44. Boatner, p. 681.
45. Ward, p. 123.
46. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, p. 68-69.
47. Ibid., p. 65.
48. MacDonald, p. 14.
49. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, p. 79; Wiley, p. 371.
50. Willison, p. 17.
51. Ward, p. 122.
52. Much of the information about army organization in this section is excerpted from Boatner, pp. 610-612.
53. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray. p. 19.
54. Ibid., p. 21.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., p. 24.

57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., pp. 55-56.
60. Ibid., p. 57.
61. Albert Castel, Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864 (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992), pp. 156-157.
62. Robertson, pp. 217-224.

1862 Footnotes

1. Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buel, eds., Battles and Leaders of the Civil War (New York: Castle Books, 1956), IV., 429.
2. Ward, p. 95.
3. Ulysses S. Grant, Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant (New York: Library Classics of the United States, Inc., 1990), p. 172.
4. Ward, p. 95.
5. Job Benjamin's AWOL appears on a muster record that also lists his desertion in August, 1862, his return from desertion in September, 1863, and a duty assignment in March, 1864 as a railroad guard.
6. Whitelaw Reid, Ohio in the War (Columbus: Eclectic Publishing Company, 1893), p. 440; Boatner, pp. 395-396.
7. John Y. Simon, "Fort Donelson," in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 18.
8. Hicken, p. 34. Lew Wallace would later immortalize himself in two ways: in 1865, he served on the military commission that tried the alleged conspirators who assassinated President Lincoln and much later, he wrote the famous novel Ben Hur.
9. Simon, p. 18.
10. Hicken, p. 33.
11. Ibid., pp. 34-35.
12. Ibid., p. 36.
13. Ibid.
14. Ward, p. 98.
15. Simon, p. 16.
16. Ibid., p. 19.
17. Ward, "An Interview with Shelby Foote," p. 267.
18. Johnson and Buel, I, 537.
19. Ward, "An Interview with Shelby Foote," p. 267.
20. Ward, p. 112.
21. Ibid., p. 114.
22. Ibid., p. 116.
23. Ibid., p. 120.
24. MacDonald, p. 24.
25. Grant, p. 236.
26. Ibid., p. 224.
27. Ibid., pp. 225-226 and 236.
28. Reid, p. 440.
29. George A. Reaves III, "Shiloh," in The Civil War Battlefield Guide. ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 31.
30. Ward, pp. 120-121.
31. Ibid., p. 121.
32. Reaves, p. 35.
33. Ward, p. 121.
34. William Tecumseh Sherman, Memoirs of General W.T. Sherman (New York: Library Classics of

the United States, Inc., 1990), p. 279; Johnson and Buel, I, 537; Grant, p. 248; Boatner, p. 412.
35. Grant, p. 248.
36. Richard L. Kiper, Major General John Alexander McClernand: Politician in Uniform (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1999), pp. 1-26.
37. Sherman, pp. 248-252.
38. Reid, p. 440.
39. Boatner, p. 751.
40. Sherman, p. 279; Boatner, p. 412.
41. Reid, p. 440.
42. Benjamin, pp. 8-10.
43. Bentley, p. 14.
44. Bentley, pp. 87-92. To provide the time span of enlistment dates, I reviewed all soldiers in Company K from sergeants down to privates.
45. Muster information provided by *Illinois Civil War Muster and Descriptive Rolls* online database from the Illinois State Archives at www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/databases/datcivil.html.
46. From genealogical research conducted and posted on *Ancestry.com* by usernames DoubetDW78 with some confirming details from jcurcio65 and Curly1952.
47. This status of the Adam LaFollette family in 1860 was estimated with 1860 census information for Rosefield Township, Peoria County, Illinois combined with genealogical research provided by *Ancestry.com* users DoubetDW78, jcurcio65, and Curly1952.
48. All enlistment dates provide by Bentley, pp. 87-92. Genealogical information for Jacob provided by *Ancestry.com* users DoubetDW78 and Curly1952.
49. From Bureau of Pensions form completed by Kirkman on April 6, 1915.
50. Bentley, p. 88. Slane family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, hcrafton1 (*Ancestry.com*), and maryeedwards85 (*Ancestry.com*).
51. Slane family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, hcrafton1 (*Ancestry.com*), and maryeedwards85 (*Ancestry.com*).
52. From "U.S. General Land Office Records, 1796-1907," provided to *Ancestry.com* by the Bureau of Land Management. The completed form documents the purchase of land by Daniel Slane, dated June 10, 1848.
53. When conducting research on Daniel Slane, I uncovered the name of his wife, Mahala LaFollette, and recognized that her surname was also that of one of the soldiers whose CdV photographs I owned (J. LaFollette, later deduced as John). Although I suspected a connection between these two LaFollettes in Company K of the 77th Illinois, there was initially no proof. The proof that Daniel Slane (and therefore I) was related to LaFollette brothers Jacob and John came on January 16, 2020 by combining the *Ancestry.com* genealogical research findings of johnstonac and Curly1952.
54. From "U.S. Civil War Soldiers, 1861-1865," National Park Service, 2007. Information provided to *Ancestry.com*.
55. From the online "American Civil War Research Database" at www.civilwardata.com/ca_demo2.html.
56. From "U.S., Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, 1861-1865," online database provided to *Ancestry.com*.
57. Slane family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as johnstonac, DoubetDW78, and maryeedwards85 (*Ancestry.com*). Kirkman family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as marysgirl2002, tempother, and mlisa whitney (*Ancestry.com*). Benjamin family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as Donny Bryson and Ann Horn (OtisAnnThompson) in *Ancestry.com*.
58. Derived from an analysis of Bentley, Chapter 2, which includes a roster of the entire regiment.
59. Bentley, p. 87
60. Winschel, p. 3-4. (footnote 22)
61. Bentley, pp. 16, 17, 27, 28.
62. Ibid., p. 19.
63. Ibid., pp. 19-25.
64. Reid, p. 440.
65. Ibid., pp. 440 441.

66. Willison, p. 24.
67. from Co. C Muster Roll for July-August, 1862, from the National Archives.
68. Wiley, p. 277.
69. Willison, p. 26.
70. Sherman, p. 279.
71. Benjamin, pp. 8-10.
72. Wiley, p. 289.
73. From Co. C Muster Roll for July-August, 1862, from the National Archives.
74. From Co. C Descriptive List of Deserters Arrested, from the National Archives.
75. From Co. C Muster Roll for November-December, 1863, from the National Archives.
76. From Company C, 76th Ohio Returns Roll, from the National Archives.
77. From Report of the Adjutant General's Office, Washington, D.C., November 21, 1888, from the National Archives. This report was in reply to Job Benjamin's application for pension of May 22, 1888.
78. Winschel, p. 11.
79. Bentley, p. 26.
80. Jerry Korn, War on the Mississippi (Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1985), p. 70; Bentley, p. 59.
81. Daniel Allen letter, Oct. 6, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
82. Ibid.
83. Bentley, pp. 96-97.
84. Ibid., p. 97.
85. Ibid., pp. 97-99.
86. Daniel Allen letter, Oct. 27, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
87. Bentley, p. 99-100; Winschel, p. 19-20.
88. Bentley, pp. 103-104.
89. Daniel Allen journal entry, Nov. 14, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
90. Winschel, p. 21.
91. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Bentley, p. 102.
92. Daniel Allen letter, Nov. 18, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
93. Bentley, p. 104.
94. Winschel, p. 23.
95. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 239.
96. Daniel Allen letter, Dec. 2, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
97. Daniel Allen letter, Dec. 9, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
98. Bentley, pp. 107-108.
99. Ward, p. 212.
100. Ibid., pp. 124-127.
101. Kiper, pp. 136-142.
102. Ibid., pp. 146-155.
103. Grant, p. 287.
104. MacDonald, pp. 133 and 157.
105. Bentley, pp. 105-106.
106. Ibid., pp. 107-108.
107. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Bentley, pp. 106-107; Winschel, p. 26.
108. Winschel, p. 26.
109. Ibid.
110. Daniel Allen journal entry, Dec. 22, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
111. Daniel Allen letter, Dec. 23, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
112. Winschel, p. 27.

113. Ibid., p. 27 (footnote 6).
114. Winschel, p. 29 (and footnote 8); Boatner, pp. 153-154.
115. Boatner, p. 153.
116. Sherman, pp. 313, 308-309.
117. Daniel Allen letter, Jan. 3, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library; Winschel, pp. 28-29.
118. Winschel, p. 28.
119. Daniel Allen letter, Jan. 3, 1863.
120. John A. Bering and Thomas Montgomery, History of the Forty-Eighth Ohio Veteran Volunteer Infantry (Hillsboro, Ohio: Highland News Office, 1880), from the website created by Don D. Worth and Stephen E. Williams at www.48ovvi.org/index.html, Chapter VIII.
121. Daniel Allen journal entry, Dec. 28, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
122. Winschel, p. 29.
123. Sherman, p. 313.
124. Ibid., p. 314.
125. Ibid., p. 313.
126. Ibid., p. 314.
127. Daniel Allen journal entry, Dec. 29, 1862, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
128. Boatner, p. 153.
129. Sherman, p. 315.
130. Boatner, pp. 153-154.
131. Sherman, pp. 314-315.
132. Boatner, p. 154.
133. Hicken, pp. 95-96.
134. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 239; Bentley, p. 110.
135. Bentley, p. 110.

1863 (Part I) Footnotes

1. Kiper, pp. 146-155.
2. Ibid., p. 155.
3. Winschel, pp. 31-32.
4. Daniel Allen journal entry, Jan. 5, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
5. Bering and Montgomery, from the website created by Don D. Worth and Stephen E. Williams at www.48ovvi.org/index.html, Chapter X.
6. Ibid., pp. 161.
7. Bentley, p. 113.
8. Johnson and Buel, III, 460; Boatner, p. 554.
9. From an Arkansas Post National Memorial brochure written by Sandra L. Myres and published by the National Park Service.
10. Kiper, p. 157.
11. Ibid., pp. 158-159.
12. Sherman, p. 319.
13. Ibid., p. 320.
14. Boatner, p. 25.
15. Hicken, pp. 144-145.
16. Daniel Allen letter, Jan. 13, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
17. Bentley, p. 114.
18. Ibid., p. 115.
19. Edwin C. Bearss and Lenard E. Brown, “Troop Movement Map — Battle of Arkansas Post, Forenoon, January 11, 1863,” Arkansas Post National Memorial: Structural History Post of

Arkansas, 1804-1863 and “Civil War Troop Movement Maps January, 1863.” (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1971).
20. Bentley, p. 115.
21. Hicken, p. 146.
22. From Troop Movement Map obtained from Eddie Wells, Chief of Interpretation and Resource Management, Arkansas Post National Memorial.
23. From Troop Movement Map; Johnson and Buel, III, p. 460.
24. Boatner, p. 25.
25. Daniel Allen journal entry, Jan. 11, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
26. Bentley, p. 116.
27. Daniel Allen journal entry, Jan. 11, 1863. Consulting Bentley’s regimental history, it appears that Allen is referring to Captain Robert Irwin of Company B, who died shortly thereafter from the wounds he received.
28. Wiley, p. 141.
29. These facts were excerpted from 1) an affidavit filed by Samuel Kirkman on September 14, 1888 and witnessed by Harry Lamboley and John Buckley and 2) the report from the Adjutant General’s Office dated October 12, 1880.
30. Bentley, p. 119.
31. From Troop Movement Map.
32. Bentley, p. 118; Boatner, p. 25.
33. Winschel, p. 33.
34. Bentley, p. 118; Boatner, p. 25.
35. Bentley, pp. 122-123.
36. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
37. Winschel, p. 33 (footnote 12).
38. Hicken, p. 147.
39. Bentley, p. 118.
40. Winschel, p. 33.
41. Bentley, p. 123.
42. Elisha C. Matteson, “Dear Sister -- They Fight to Whip,” ed. Edward Eckert, Civil War Times Illustrated, May/June, 1991, p. 17.
43. Boatner, p. 554.
44. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Illinois at Vicksburg. p. 239.
45. Winschel, pp. 34-35.
46. Bentley, p. 124.
47. Reid, p. 441; Bentley, p. 126.
48. Winschel, p. 38 (footnote 4).
49. Bentley, p. 128.
50. Ibid.
51. Daniel Allen journal entry, Mar. 9, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
52. Daniel Allen journal entry, Mar. 10, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
53. Daniel Allen letter, Mar. 4, 1863, courtesy Peoria Historical Society Collection, Bradley University Library.
54. Daniel Allen letter, Mar. 4, 1863; Korn, p. 70; Bentley, p. 57.
55. Johnson and Buel, III, 460.
56. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives. Name of Quartermaster was given in Bentley, p. 32.
57. Definition is from Webster’s New World Dictionary.
58. Bentley, p. 129.
59. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
60. Bentley, p. 130.

1863 (Part II) Footnotes

1. L.B. Northrop, “A Hill of Death,” Civil War Times Illustrated, May/June, 1991, p. 26.
2. Ibid., p. 30.
3. Ibid., p. 28.
4. Ward, p. 139.
5. Northrop, p. 28.
6. Ibid.
7. Boatner, p. 871.
8. Ward, p. 212.
9. Northrop, p. 29.
10. Ibid., p. 30.
11. Ibid.
12. Johnson and Buel, III, 546.
13. From Adjutant General's Report, page 682; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 239; Bentley, p. 134.
14. Winschel, p. 45 (footnote 6).
15. Hicken, p. 155.
16. Edwin C. Bearss, “Port Gibson,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 136.
17. Grant, pp. 322-323.
18. Ibid., p. 323.
19. Bearss, “Port Gibson,” p. 138.
20. Ibid., pp. 136 and 138.
21. Winschel, p. 45 (footnote 7).
22. Johnson and Buel, III, 546.
23. Boatner, p. 874.
24. Bentley, p. 138.
25. Ibid., p. 139.
26. Winschel, p. 47 (footnote 11).
27. Bentley, p. 139.
28. Boatner, p. 875.
29. Northrop, p. 31.
30. Bentley, p. 139.
31. Winschel, p. 47.
32. Boatner, p. 875.
33. Northrop, p. 31; Boatner, p. 875.
34. Boatner, p. 875.
35. Edwin C. Bearss, “The Vicksburg Campaign and Siege,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), pp. 142 and 144.
36. Northrop, pp. 33 and 62.
37. Bentley, p. 140.
38. Illinois at Vicksburg. p. 242.
39. Edwin C. Bearss, “Champion Hill,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 145.
40. Ibid.
41. Boatner, p. 876.
42. Bentley, p. 141.
43. Johnson and Buel, III, 512. (map)
44. Bentley, p. 142; Johnson and Buel, III, 547.
45. Bentley, p. 142.
46. Ibid., pp. 143-144.
47. Johnson and Buel, III, 546.
48. Bering and Montgomery, from the website created by Don D. Worth and Stephen E. Williams at www.48ovvi.org/index.html, Chapter XI.
49. Hicken, p. 162.
50. Reid, p. 441.

51. Grant, p. 354.
52. Hicken, p. 169.
53. Grant, p. 354.
54. Excerpted from a Vicksburg National Military Park brochure written and published by the National Park Service.
55. Bearss, “The Vicksburg Campaign and Siege,” p. 132.
56. Ibid.
57. Bentley, pp. 149-150.
58. Grant, p. 355.
59. Ibid.
60. Warren E. Grabau, Ninety-Eight Days, (Knoxville, Tennessee: The University of Tennessee Press, 2000), p. 376.
61. Ibid., p. xxviii.
62. Ibid., p. 375.
63. Edwin Cole Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg (Volume III), (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside House, Inc., 1986), pp. 823 and 863.
64. Ibid., pp. 824 and 862-863.
65. Bentley, p. 150.
66. Grabau, p. 376.
67. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 824.
68. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg (Volume III), pp. 824-825; Grabau, p. 377.
69. War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. U.S. Government, 1900, Vol XXIV, Part 2, p. 244.
70. Korn, p. 130.
71. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, pp. 824-825; Grabau, p. 380.
72. Bentley, pp. 151-152.
73. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 826; Grabau, p.378.
74. Bentley, p. 152.
75. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 826.
76. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, pp. 826 and 849; Burden, Jeffry C., Bloody Fight in Vain, online article from America's Civil War
77. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 849.
78. Bentley, pp. 152-153.
79. Bering and Montgomery, from the website created by Don D. Worth and Stephen E. Williams at www.48ovvi.org/index.html, Chapter XI.
80. Hicken, p. 172.
81. U.S. Army Center of Military History website, once located at www.army.mil/cmh-pg/mohciv2.htm.
82. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 849.
83. Ibid., p. 850.
84. Bentley, p. 153.
85. Hicken, p. 174; Sherman, p. 352.
86. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 847.
87. Grabau, p. 379; Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 851.
88. Kiper, p. 263.
89. Korn, p. 132.
90. Grabau, p. 379; Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 851.
91. Bearss, The Campaign for Vicksburg, p. 851.
92. Winschel, p. 51 (footnote 18).
93. Ibid., p. 51.
94. Hicken, p. 174.
95. Hicken, p. 174; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 242 gives the 77th Illinois casualties as 19 killed, 85 wounded, and 26 missing.
96. Bentley, p. 160.
97. Wiley, p. 361.
98. Grabau, p. 382.
99. Hicken, p. 175.
100. Bentley, pp. 164-170.

101. Hicken, pp. 176-177.
102. Bentley, p. 170.
103. Bearss, “The Vicksburg Campaign and Siege,” p. 134.
104. Winschel, p. 57.
105. Ibid., p. 57 (footnote 28).
106. Bearss, “The Vicksburg Campaign and Siege,” p. 134.
107. Bentley, pp. 175-176.
108. Bowman, p. 114.
109. Boatner, pp. 441 and 876.
110. Ward, pp. 240-241.
111. Bearss, “The Vicksburg Campaign and Siege,” p. 134.
112. Bentley, p. 195.

1863 (Part III) Footnotes

1. Bentley, pp. 184-185.
2. Hicken, p. 324.
3. Winschel, p. 62-63.
4. Hicken, p. 324.
5. Bentley, pp. 188-189.
6. Ibid., pp. 189-190.
7. Winschel, p. 69-70.
8. Bentley, p. 192.
9. Winschel, p. 71.
10. Boatner, p. 195.
11. Bentley, pp. 193-194.
12. Boatner, p. 195.
13. Ludwell H. Johnson, “The Red River Campaign,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide. ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 163; Hicken, p. 325.
14. Bentley, pp. 193-197.
15. Bowman, p. 114.
16. William Glenn Robertson, “Chickamauga,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 150.
17. MacDonald, pp. 112-123.
18. Charles P. Roland, “Chattanooga,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 157.
19. Ibid., pp. 157 and 159.
20. From Co. C Muster Roll for July/August, 1862, from the National Archives.
21. Wiley, pp. 282 and 423.
22. From Co. C Descriptive List of Deserters Arrested, from the National Archives.
23. From Co. C Muster Roll for November/December, 1863, from the National Archives.
24. From Company C, 76th Ohio Returns Roll, from the National Archives; Sherman, p. 370.
25. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, p. 135.
26. Wiley, pp. 205-206.
27. Ibid., p. 197.
28. Willison, p. 26.
29. From Co. C Muster Rolls for July/August and September/October, 1862, from the National Archives.
30. Wiley, p. 216.
31. From Company C Muster Rolls, from the National Archives.
32. From Company C Muster Roll for January/February, 1864, from the National Archives.
33. From Regimental Returns Listing, from the National Archives.
34. Reid, p. 441; Grant, p. 422; Sherman, p. 397.
35. Grant, pp. 422 and 430-431.
36. Willison, pp. 72-73.

37. Grant, pp. 422 and 430-431.
38. Johnson and Buel, III, 729.
39. Grant, pp. 409-412.
40. Roland, p. 159; Ward, p. 258.
41. Ward, p. 258.
42. Grant, p. 435; Sherman, p. 399; Hicken, p. 225; Willison, p. 74.
43. Willison, p. 74.
44. Grant, p. 440.
45. Hicken, p. 226.
46. Grant, p. 441; Roland, p. 160.
47. Peter Cozzens, The Shipwreck of their Hopes, (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p.162.
48. Ibid., pp. 167-178.
49. Ibid., pp. 179-180.
50. Ibid., p. 180.
51. Willison, pp. 75-76.
52. Cozzens, pp. 182-189.
53. Hicken, p. 227.
54. Boatner, p. 145; Roland, p. 160.
55. Cozzens, p. 197; Eclipse details were calculated using two different astronomical software titles — Redshift 3 (Piranha Interactive Publishing) and Occult: Eclipses and Transits 1.4.0 (D. Herald, distributed by International Occultation Timing Association).
56. Ibid., pp. 197-198.
57. Boatner, p. 145; Roland, p. 160.
58. Grant, pp. 450-451; MacDonald, pp. 129-130.
59. MacDonald, p. 130.
60. Roland, pp. 160 and 162.
61. Ward, p. 261.
62. Ibid.
63. MacDonald, p. 127.
64. Ibid., p. 131.
65. Cozzens, p. 313.
66. Ibid.
67. Cozzens, pp. 314-315; Willison, p. 77.
68. Willison, p. 77.
69. Ibid., p. 78.
70. Cozzens, pp. 347 and 378.
71. Grant, p. 453.
72. Cozzens, pp. 372-373.
73. Ibid., pp. 373-375.
74. Ibid., p. 375.
75. Willison, pp. 78-79.
76. Ibid., p. 79.
77. Cozzens, p. 377.
78. Ibid., pp. 377-379.
79. Ibid., p. 379.
80. Ibid., pp 379-380.
81. Willison, p. 79.
82. Cozzens, pp. 383-384.
83. Grant, p. 453.
84. Reid, pp. 441-442.
85. Roland, p. 162.
86. Willison, pp. 80-82.
87. Willison, pp. 81-82.
88. From Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, dated May 4, 1888 and Department of the Interior's Bureau of Pensions form, dated July 7, 1888, both from the National Archives.

89. From Declaration for Original Invalid Pension, dated May 4, 1888, from the National Archives.
90. Reid, pp. 441-442.
91. Boatner, pp. 194-195; Bentley, pp. 193-194.
92. Bentley, p. 205.
93. Ibid., p. 206.
94. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
95. Ibid., p. 216.
96. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
97. Ibid., p. 208.
98. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
99. Bentley, pp. 218-233.
100. Ibid., p. 215.
101. Ibid., p. 234.
102. Winschel, p. 85.
103. Bentley, p. 235; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 239.
104. Bentley, p. 235.
105. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.

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1. Willison, p. 83.
2. Winschel, pp. 87-88.
3. Willison, p. 85.
4. Wiley, pp. 342-343.
5. Reid, p. 442.
6. Ibid.
7. Willison, p. 87.
8. Reid, p. 442.
9. Bentley, p. 244.
10. Johnson, p. 163. Maximilian was an Austrian archduke who, with his wife Carlotta, ruled Mexico from 1863 to 1867 with the aid of French troops. In 1867, he was overthrown by Benito Juarez, who would become a Mexican national hero (from The Family Almanac, The New York Times Company, 1971, p. 556).
11. Johnson, p. 163.
12. Lawrence Lee Hewitt, “Port Hudson,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 149; Boatner, p. 42.
13. Bentley, p. 243.
14. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
15. Johnson and Buel, IV., 367.
16. Johnson, p. 164.
17. Ibid.
18. Boatner, p. 715.
19. Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 167.
20. Bentley, pp. 248-249.
21. Johnson and Buel, IV, 367; Bentley, p. 268.
22. Bentley, p. 249.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Bentley, p. 259.
26. Ibid., pp. 268 and 31.
27. Winschel, pp. 100-101.
28. Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr., “A Colonel Gains His Wreath: Col. Henry Gray’s Louisiana Brigade at Mansfield,” in The Red River Campaign, eds. Theodore P. Savas and David A. Woodbury

(Campbell, CA: Regimental Studies, Inc., 1994), p. 12.
29. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 167; Boatner, p. 686.
30. Bergeron, “A Colonel Gains His Wreath,” p. 9.
31. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 167; Boatner, p. 686.
32. Bergeron, “A Colonel Gains His Wreath,” pp. 2 and 14.
33. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” pp. 167 and 169.
34. From “The Battle of Mansfield” map, courtesy of the 1994 Mansfield SCA Tour Guide, published for the Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism, Office of State Parks, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Special Thanks to Bruce Schulze, webmaster of Civil War Album.com.
35. Hicken, p. 329.
36. Bentley, pp. 250-251.
37. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 169; Bergeron, “A Colonel Gains His Wreath,” pp. 12-13.
38. Theodore P. Savas, “A Death at Mansfield: Col. James Hamilton Beard and the Consolidated Crescent Regiment,” in The Red River Campaign, eds. Theodore P. Savas and David A. Woodbury (Campbell, CA: Regimental Studies, Inc., 1994), p. 92.
39. Bergeron, “A Colonel Gains His Wreath,” p. 13.
40. Winschel, p. 102.
41. Ibid., p. 103.
42. Ibid., p. 104.
43. Bentley, pp. 251-252.
44. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 169.
45. Winschel, p. 104.
46. Bentley, pp. 252-253.
47. Bentley, pp. 257-258.
48. Boatner, p. 687.
49. Bentley, p. 258.
50. Bering and Montgomery, from the website created by Don D. Worth and Stephen E. Williams at www.48ovvi.org/index.html, Chapter XV.
51. Bentley, p. 276.
52. Ibid., pp. 281 and 285.
53. Hicken, p. 329.
54. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 170.
55. Ibid., p. 169.
56. Ibid., pp. 169-170.
57. Hicken, p. 330.
58. Bentley, pp. 262-263.
59. Ibid., pp. 277-278.
60. Ibid., p. 315.
61. David Clemens of Monterey Peninsula College in California found this typewritten poem among genealogical papers kept by his grandmother. His link to the Civil War was his great-grandfather Harvey Lieurance, who fought with the 48th Ohio Volunteer Infantry. Although the poem was attributed to “Billy R. M.; Fifer Co. C 77 Illinois Vol.,” this writer can find no record of any soldier by that name or similar name in any Illinois regiment. There is a listing for a Private William R. Moore, who started off the war in Co. F of the 77th Illinois but soon transferred to Co. C. The initials of his name match “Billy R.M.” He is not listed as having been a musician, but perhaps he “unofficially” played the fife for his own personal enjoyment. In any event, this poem is reprinted here by the kind permission of Mr. Clemens.
62. Bentley, p. 307.
63. Winschel, p. 108.
64. Bentley, p. 310; Winschel, p. 109.
65. Johnson, p. 166; Winschel, p. 110.
66. Bentley, pp. 310-311.
67. Johnson, p. 166.
68. Ward, p. 292.
69. Boatner, p. 688.
70. Winschel, p. 114.

71. Bentley, p. 315; Winschel, p. 115 (note).
72. Winschel, p. 117.
73. Bentley, p. 315.
74. Bentley, pp. 315-316.
75. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
76. Johnson and Buel, IV., 367.
77. Illinois at Vicksburg. pp. 239-240.
78. MacDonald, p. 156.
79. Grant, p. 469; Sherman, p. 1103.
80. Sherman, p. 1103.
81. MacDonald, p. 156.
82. Ibid.
83. Willison, p. 92.
84. MacDonald, p. 167.
85. Ward, p. 322.
86. Ibid., pp. 322 and 329.
87. Johnson and Buel, IV., 287; Boatner, pp. 413, 487, 613, 773-774, 947-948.
88. Reid, p. 442.
89. Johnson and Buel, IV., 287.
90. MacDonald, p. 156.
91. Boatner, p. 30.
92. MacDonald, p. 156.
93. Reid, p. 442.
94. Sherman, p. 500.
95. MacDonald, p. 156.
96. Reid, p. 442; Castel, pp. 155, 163, and 166.
97. MacDonald, pp. 156 and 158; Castel, p. 168.
98. Sherman, p. 513.
99. MacDonald, p. 159.
100. Jay Luvaas, “New Hope Church, Pickett's Mill, and Dallas,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 185.
101. Ibid., p. 186.
102. Ibid., p. 185.
103. Castel, p. 246.
104. Reid, p. 442.
105. Jay Luvaas, “Kennesaw Mountain,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 187; Reid, p. 442. & Sherman, p. 519.
106. Sherman, p. 519.
107. Luvaas, “Kennesaw Mountain,” pp. 187-188.
108. Sherman, pp. 523 and 525.
109. Ibid., p. 527.
110. Luvaas, “Kennesaw Mountain,” pp. 187-188.
111. Reid, p. 442.
112. From Co. C Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
113. Luvaas, “Kennesaw Mountain,” p. 189; Johnson and Buel, IV., 287.
114. Luvaas, “Kennesaw Mountain,” pp. 189-190.
115. MacDonald, pp. 160-161.
116. Ward, p. 324.
117. MacDonald, p. 161.

1864 (Part II) Footnotes

1. Johnson and Buel, IV., 287; Boatner, pp. 413, 487, 613, 773-774, 947-948.
2. MacDonald, p. 161.
3. Sherman, p. 543.

4. Reid, p. 442.
5. MacDonald, pp. 163-164.
6. MacDonald, p. 164.
7. Castel, pp. 385 and 387.
8. MacDonald, p. 164.
9. MacDonald, pp. 164-165.
10. MacDonald, pp. 164-165.
11. Ward, p. 327.
12. MacDonald, p. 165.
13. Hicken, p. 266.
14. Boatner, p. 29; Castel, pp. 389 and 403-405.
15. Hicken, pp. 266-267.
16. Sherman, p. 556.
17. Boatner, p. 30; MacDonald, pp. 162 and 165.
18. Ward, p. 327.
19. MacDonald, p. 162; Reid, p. 442.
20. Sherman, p. 554.
21. MacDonald, p. 162; Reid, p. 442.
22. From Casualty Sheet prepared on May 17, 1880 from the original report of killed, wounded and missing signed by Major General P.J. Osterhaus, from the National Archives.
23. Conjunctiva is defined as the mucous membrane lining the inner surface of the eyelids and covering the front part of the eyeball. Opacity of the cornea means that the outermost covering of the eye has lost some or all of its normal transparency.
24. From Surgeon's Certificate, stamped September 10, 1888, from the National Archives.
25. From Affidavit to Origin of Disability, signed February 12, 1889, from the National Archives.
26. From Affidavit to Origin of Disability, signed August 27, 1891, from the National Archives.
27. MacDonald, p. 166.
28. Boatner, p. 30.
29. Boatner, pp. 487 and 773-774.
30. Wiley, p. 125.
31. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, p. 161.
32. Ibid., pp. 161-162.
33. Boatner, p. 271; Bowman, p. 172.
34. Sherman, p. 561.
35. Hicken, p. 268.
36. Sherman, p. 561.
37. Bowman, p. 172; Sherman, p. 562.
38. Castel, pp. 426-435.
39. Sherman, p. 563.
40. Reid, p. 442.
41. Ward, p. 327.
42. Hicken, p. 269.
43. Sherman, p. 570.
44. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray, p. 60.
45. MacDonald, p. 166.
46. Reid, p. 442.
47. MacDonald, p. 166.
48. Sherman, p. 578; Boatner, p. 33.
49. Reid, p. 442; Boatner, p. 33.
50. Boatner, p. 33.
51. Castel, p. 496.
52. Ibid., pp. 496-499.
53. Ibid., pp. 499 and 502.
54. Ibid., p. 502.
55. Ibid., pp. 500-501.
56. Ibid., p. 502.
57. Ibid.

58. Reid, p. 442.
59. Castel, p. 507 and 509.
60. Boatner, p. 445.
61. Ibid., pp. 511-520.
62. Boatner, p. 33.
63. Boatner, p. 33; Castel, p. 509.
64. Jay Luvaas, “The Atlanta Campaign,” in The Civil War Battlefield Guide, ed. Frances H. Kennedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990), p. 177; Ward, pp. 332-333.
65. Bentley, pp. 268, 317-318; Boatner, pp. 118, 364, 532 and 694.
66. Bentley, p. 317.
67. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
68. From Co. K Muster Roll records, from the National Archives.
69. Willison, pp. 88-89.
70. From Co. K Muster Roll records, from the National Archives.
71. Bentley, pp. 317-319; Winschel, pp. 120-121 and 133.
72. Bentley, pp. 317-319.
73. Ibid., p. 320.
74. Ibid., p. 29.
75. Ibid., p. 321.
76. Ward, p. 325.
77. Winschel, p. 125.
78. Bowman, p. 174.
79. Ibid., pp. 173-174.
80. Ibid., p. 174.
81. Bentley, p. 324.
82. Ibid., pp. 324-325; Illinois at Vicksburg, page 240.
83. From Co. K Muster Roll and Detachment Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
84. Bentley, pp. 327-329.
85. Winschel, pp. 134-136.
86. Bentley, pp. 330-331.
87. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
88. Winschel, p. 136.
89. Johnson and Buel, IV., 287; Boatner, pp. 413, 487, 613, 830, 890, 947-948.
90. Sherman, p. 631.
91. MacDonald, p. 168.
92. Reid, p. 442; MacDonald, p. 168.
93. Castel, p. 548.
94. Willison, p. 100
95. Reid, p. 442; MacDonald, p. 168.
96. Reid, p. 442.
97. Sherman, p. 631.
98. Reid, p. 442.
99. From Co. C Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
100. Hicken, p. 4. The Confederate government instituted the first draft of able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 35 on April 16, 1862.
101. Ward, p. 242.
102. Boatner, p. 858.
103. Hicken, p. 4.
104. Ibid.
105. From Muster and Descriptive Roll of Company D, obtained from the Illinois State Archives.
106. From Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of Drafted Men and Substitutes Forwarded, dated October 17, 1864, from the National Archives.
107. Brigadier General J.N. Reece, Adjutant General, Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois (Springfield: Phillips Bros. State Printers, 1900), I, 428.
108. Reece, I, 428-431.
109. MacDonald, p. 168.
110. Ward, “An Interview with Shelby Foote,” p. 272.

111. Sherman, p. 627.
112. Ibid., p. 641.
113. Reid, p. 442.
114. Ward, p. 340.
115. Ibid.
116. Bowman, p. 185.
117. Boatner, p. 509.
118. Bowman, p. 185; Boatner, pp. 771 and 910.
119. Reid, p. 442; Sherman, p. 646.
120. Sherman, p. 654; Reid, pp. 442-443.
121. Sherman, p. 664.
122. Willison, p. 101.
123. Sherman, p. 664.
124. Ward, p. 345.
125. Sherman, p. 664; Boatner, pp. 362 and 883-884.
126. Reid, pp. 442-443.
127. Willison, p. 102.
128. Bowman, pp. 185-190.
129. Ward, pp. 343-344.
130. Ibid., pp. 340 and 342.
131. Reid, p. 443.
132. Bowman, p. 191.
133. Ward, p. 344.
134. Willison, p. 104.
135. Reid, p. 443.
136. Boatner, pp. 118, 194-196, 351-352, 364, 868-869.
137. Reece, p. 431.
138. From Co. D Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
139. Wiley, p. 326.
140. From Pension records, dated January 14, 1904, from the National Archives.
141. Boatner, pp. 196 and 868-869.
142. Ibid., pp. 868-869.
143. Reece, p. 431.

1864 (Part III) Footnotes

1. Bergeron, “Mansfield and Pleasant Hill,” p. 169-170.
2. Bentley, p. 285.
3. Ibid.
4. From *Camp Ford* article in Wikipedia (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camp_Ford), accessed on January 16, 2020; Boatner, p. 117. The specific identity of “Jas. S. McClain” was discovered by undertaking an online search that turned up an explanation in the Google-posted book titled History of Grant County, Indiana (Chicago: Brant & Fuller, 1886), p. 652.
5. Bentley, p. 286 and 288.
6. Bentley, pp. 287-288.
7. Bentley, p. 289.
8. Ibid.
9. Bentley, p. 290.
10. Bentley, pp. 291-292.
11. Bentley, p. 292.
12. Bentley, p. 298.
13. Bentley, p. 304.
14. Bentley, p. 302.
15. Bentley, p. 305.
16. Ibid.

17. Bentley, p. 306.

1865 Footnotes

1. Grant, pp. 388-389.
2. Ibid., pp. 458-459.
3. Ibid., pp. 388-389.
4. Bowman, p. 174.
5. Grant, p. 758.
6. Boatner, pp. 118, 194-196, 351-352, 364, 868-869.
7. Reece, p. 431.
8. Boatner, pp. 118, 364, 868-869.
9. Reece, p. 431.
10. Ibid.
11. From Company D Muster Roll, from the National Archives.
12. Bentley, pp. 307 and 338; Boatner, pp. 60, 118, 194, 351-352, 364. According to Winschel, pp. 137 and 140, Lt. Col. Reid, originally a major in the 130th Illinois, was promoted to command the consolidated 77th Illinois regiment.
13. Bentley, pp. 331-334.
14. Ibid., pp. 334-335.
15. Winschel, p. 139. I assume that Kirkman and Holt were friends because Holt's carte de visite photograph was one that Kirkman kept until his death.
16. Bentley, pp. 334-338.
17. Boatner, p. 559.
18. Bentley, p. 338.
19. Ibid., p. 29.
20. Hicken, p. 344. This fact is deduced by comparing Bentley's account, Reece's account and information from Boatner's Civil War Dictionary. Reece stated that the 8th Illinois Regiment took position in front of Fort Blakely on March 31st, was actively involved in the assault on Fort Blakely and occupied the city of Mobile after its surrender. Crossreferencing this information with Bentley (pp. 343 and 345) and Boatner (pp. 68 and 868-869), I deduced that the 8th Illinois was part of the 1st Division of the 13th Corps. The Divisional commander was James Clifford Veatch.
21. Bentley, pp. 339-340.
22. Ibid., p. 340.
23. Ibid., p. 341.
24. Ibid., pp. 338, 341 and 345; Boatner, pp. 62 and 868-869.
25. Winschel, p. 145.
26. Ibid.
27. Bentley, p. 341; Reece, p. 431.
28. Winschel, p. 146.
29. Bentley, p. 341; Reece, p. 431.
30. Reece, p. 431.
31. Boatner, p. 68.
32. Reece, p. 431.
33. Winschel, p. 149.
34. Bentley, p. 342; Boatner, p. 780; Johnson and Buel, IV, 411.
35. Bentley, p. 342.
36. Boatner, p. 781.
37. Bentley, pp. 342-343.
38. Boatner, p. 68.
39. Bentley, p. 343.
40. Winschel, p.
41. Reece, p. 431.
42. Boatner, p. 68.
43. Bentley, p. 345.

44. Ibid., p. 344.
45. Reece, p. 431.
46. Bentley, pp. 345-347; Winschel, p. 152.
47. Ibid., p. 29.
48. Ibid., p. 347.
49. This claim was confirmed by an affidavit filed on October 11, 1890 by Jacob LaFollete, who also served in Co. K, and was a neighbor of Kirkman's after the war. In an Inability Affidavit filed on October 20, 1890, Samuel Kirkman requested the testimony of William King and Jacob LaFollete in lieu of medical evidence.
50. Robertson, Soldiers Blue and Gray. p. 158.
51. From a telephone interview with Margaret Anderson in January, 1992.
52. Johnson and Buel, IV, 696.
53. Grant, p. 671.
54. Reid, p. 443.
55. Grant, p. 672.
56. Hicken, p. 290.
57. Willison, pp. 108-109.
58. Boatner, p. 125.
59. Bowman, p. 197.
60. Ward, p. 356.
61. Ibid.
62. Sherman, p. 705.
63. Hicken, p. 291.
64. Ibid., p. 292.
65. Willison, p. 111.
66. Hicken, p. 293.
67. Boatner, p. 167.
68. Willison, p. 115-116.
69. Hicken, p. 294.
70. Willison, p. 116.
71. Reid, p. 443.
72. Boatner, pp. 125 and 441.
73. Ward, p. 356.
74. Boatner, p. 126.
75. Hicken, p. 295.
76. Bowman, p. 202; Reid, p. 443.
77. Bowman, p. 202.
78. Ibid., p. 203.
79. Ibid.; Boatner, p. 35.
80. Sherman, pp. 785-786.
81. Bowman, p. 204.
82. Hicken, p. 297.
83. Bowman, p. 204; Boatner, p. 124 and 127.
84. Bowman, p. 210.
85. Reid, p. 443; Boatner, p. 127.
86. Boatner, p. 127.
87. Bentley, pp. 307 and 338; Boatner, pp. 60, 118, 194, 351-352, 364.
88. Bentley, p. 348.
89. Ibid., pp. 348-349.
90. Bowman, p. 213.
91. Winschel, p. 159.
92. Bentley, p. 349-350.
93. Winschel, pp. 161-162.
94. Ibid., p. 164-165.
95. Ibid., p. 167.
96. Bentley, p. 349-350; Winschel, p. 167.
97. Ibid., p. 353.

98. Ibid., p. 357.
99. From Civil War Service Report, from Illinois State Archives.
100. Winschel, p. 175.
101. From Co. K Muster-Out Roll, from the National Archives.
102. Bentley, p. 378.
103. Ibid., p. 379.
104. Ibid., pp. 380-381.
105. Ibid., p. 381.
106. Ibid., p. 383.
107. Ibid., p. 385; Winschel, p. 182 (note).
108. Bentley, pp. 386-391; Winschel, p. 183.
109. Ibid., p. 390-391.
110. All surrender dates are from Boatner, p. 822.
111. Reid, p. 443; Ward, p. 393.
112. Willison, p. 124.
113. Reid, p. 443; Ward, p. 393; Willison, p. 125.
114. From Co. K Muster Roll, from the National Archives; Adjutant General's Report, dated November 21, 1888.
115. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin. Additional genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois provides the names of additional children and birth dates.
116. Pharyngitis is inflammation of the mucous membranes of the pharynx, more commonly referred to as a chronic sore throat.
117. From Death Certificate issued by the State of Missouri, found online at s1.sos.mo.gov/Records/Archives/ArchivesMvc/DeathCertificates/. This document notes Elizabeth Margereth Benjamin's date of birth as August 11, 1832 in "Lincoln Co, Ohio," a misspelling of Licking County.
118. Reece, p. 431.
119. Reece, p. 431.
120. From Bureau of Pensions records, dated January 14, 1904, from the National Archives.
121. From Company D Muster Rolls, from the National Archives.
122. From genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois.
123. From Affidavits of William J. Benjamin and John Hart, dated February 18 and February 6, 1920, respectively, from the National Archives.
124. Ibid. Move to Kansas in 1870 is confirmed by Bureau of Pensions form dated January 18, 1904.
125. From genealogical research conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois.
126. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin.
127. From Declaration of Widow's Pension, dated June 9, 1919; Marriage License, Marion County, Kansas, both from the National Archives.
128. From Death Certificate of Margaret Wilson, dated January 14, 1936, from the National Archives.
129. From Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, dated April 5, 1915; Declaration for Widow's Pension, dated June 9, 1919, from the National Archives. Also from genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin and Ann Horn of Evanston, Illinois.
130. Benjamin, p. 10.
131. From Burial or Removal Permit, Bureau of Vital Statistics, State of Arkansas, dated May 25, 1919; Affidavit of William J. Benjamin, dated February 18, both from the National Archives.
132. From Declaration of Pension, dated February 4, 1911, from the National Archives.
133. From Pensioner Dropped form, Bureau of Pensions, Department of the Interior, dated June 6, 1919, from the National Archives.
134. From Declaration for Widow's Pension, dated June 9, 1919; Stop Payment Notice, Veterans Administration, dated January 29, 1936, both from the National Archives.
135. From Death Certificate of Margaret Wilson, dated January 14, 1936; Application for Reimbursement (of medical expenses) filed by son Warren A. Wilson, dated January 16, 1936, both from the National Archives.
136. From Bureau of Pensions form completed by Kirkman on April 6, 1915.
137. From genealogical research conducted by Roland and Maxine Benjamin. Additonal genealogical research was conducted by Ann Horn, Evanston, Illinois.

138. From Declaration for Pension form signed by Kirkman on May 16, 1907.
139. From various pension forms obtained from the National Archives.
140. From Wikipedia: “The term bilious fever is obsolete and no longer used, but was used by medical practitioners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for any fever that exhibited the symptom of nausea or vomiting in addition to an increase in internal body temperature and strong diarrhea, which were thought to arise from disorders of bile, the two types of which were two of the four humours of traditional Galenic medicine. It was often cited as a cause on death certificates.”
141. This story was confirmed by affidavits filed by two other persons, William King (who also served in Co. K) and Nicholas Hoffman on the 23rd of December, 1902, evidently for a pension claim.
142. From personal visit to Cottonwood Cemetery on Memorial Day weekend, 1992.
143. From “U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934,” an online database provided by the National Archives and Records Administration to *Ancestry.com*.
144. Bentley, p. 306.
145. Ibid., p. 385; Winschel, p. 182 (note).
146. From *Ancestry.com* accounts DoubetDW78, ClydeHendricks, Curly1952, Glen Smith
147. From *Ancestry.com* accounts DoubetDW78, Curly1952, Glen Smith
148. Slane family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as johnstonac, DoubetDW78, and maryeedwards85 (*Ancestry.com*). Kirkman family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as marysgirl2002, tempother, and mlisa whitney (*Ancestry.com*). Benjamin family genealogy derived from research by Roland Benjamin, as well as Donny Bryson and Ann Horn (OtisAnnThompson) in *Ancestry.com*.
149. Bentley, pp. 391-392, 396.

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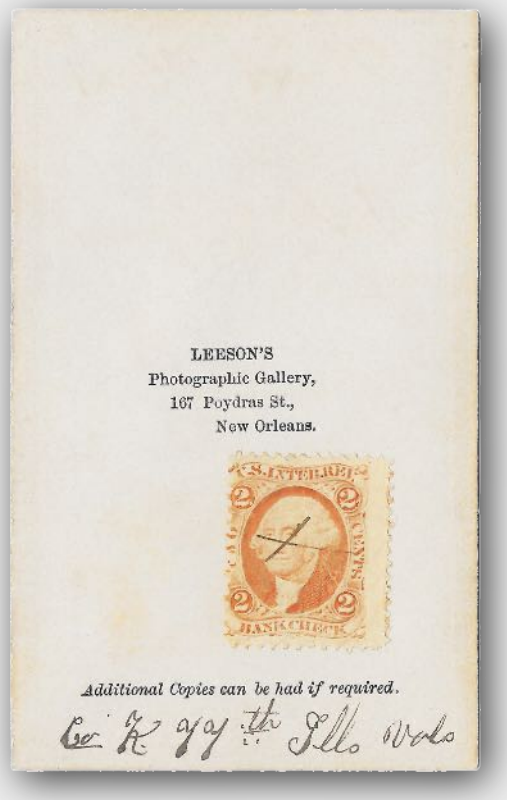

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